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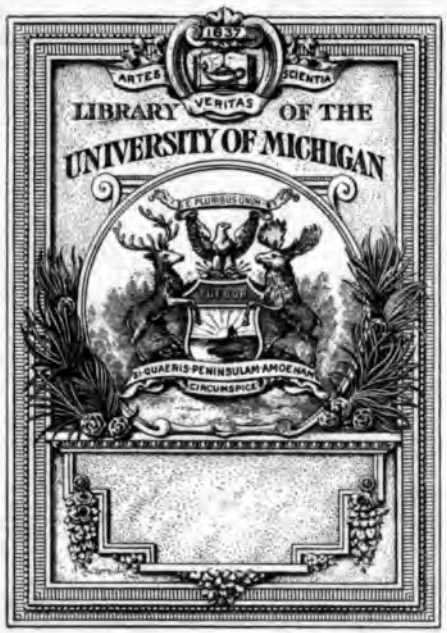
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THE

Vicars of Rochdale.

BY THE LATE

REV. CANON RAINES, M.A., F.S.A.,

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.,

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS," ETC.

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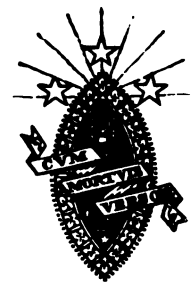

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rectory of Ruckinge, both in the county of Kent, and diocese of Canterbury, and worth 320*l.* per annum." (*London Chron.*, April 1–3, 1760.) And on the 2nd May, 1761, another dispensation passed the seal to enable him to hold the rectory of Witresham, near Tenterden, in Kent, to which he had been lately presented, worth nearly 400*l.* per annum, with "the vicarage" (rectory) of Great Charte. (*Ibid.*, Apr. 30–May 2, 1761.) At this time he resigned Ruckinge. (*Gent. Mag.*, vol. xxxi. p. 238.)

Whilst at Lambeth he became acquainted with Mr. Porteus, his fellow chaplain, afterwards his diocesan, and their principles and habits being similar, a friendship was formed which continued through life. Like their patron, they were both of humble origin. Both had been sizers at Cambridge, and both of them natives of Yorkshire, and were distinguished, like their master, Secker, for their zeal and piëty, as well as their devotion to the English Church.

On the 6th April, 1762, Wray was collated to the vicarage of Rochdale,* and here he constantly resided, and had no other preferment. In 1763 he obtained at his own expense, an Act of Parliament, which had long been desired by his parishioners, to enable the vicar for the time being to grant building leases of the glebe for the term of 99 years. The costs of his application to parliament so far exceeded his calculations, that he frequently regretted having made it. Shortly after the act was obtained, he offered to a parishioner *all* the glebe, with the privileges the act conferred, during his incumbency, for 400*l.* a year, but the offer was not accepted. His successors, as well as the parishioners, are indebted to his memory for this measure, although to

* "The Rev. Mr. Hollingbury of the Charter House is presented to the vicarage of Shepherd's Well in Kent in the room of the Rev. Mr. Benson, preferred to the rectory of Great Charte in the place of the Rev. Dr. Wray removed to Rochdale, in the room of Dr. Tunstall, deceased." (*London Chron.*, April 22—24, 1762.) Jan. 5, 1764, the Rev. John Benson, M.A., chaplain to Lord Bath, obtained a dispensation to hold Great Charte with Harbledown in Kent, worth 260*l.* per annum. (*Ibid.*, Jan. 5—7, 1764.) *Qu.* Was he any relation of Robert Benson of Clapham, Yorkshire, yeoman, afterwards named ?

himself it proved, in a pecuniary point of view, extremely disadvantageous.

[The very important Act, here referred to, runs as follows :—

A.D. 1764. *Whereas* the Reverend Thomas Wray Doctor in Divinity vicar of the Parish and Parish Church of *Rochdale* in the County of Lancaster and Diocese of Chester in the Right of his said Vicarage is seised of certain Glebe Lands which are very conveniently situated for building Houses upon for the use of the Inhabitants of the said Parish.

And Whereas there are at present standing upon part of the said Glebe several Cottages and other Buildings which are ancient and subject to frequent repairs.

And Whereas the Most Reverend Father in God Thomas by Divine Providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury is Patron of the said Vicarage.

And Whereas great Benefit would accrue to the said Vicarage if Power was given to the Vicar for the Time being to grant a Lease or Leases of the said Glebe Lands and Premises for a Term of years sufficient to encourage Persons to build thereon and improve the same.

May it therefore please Your Most Excellent Majesty.

At the humble Petition of the said Thomas Wray That it may be enacted And be it enacted by the Kings Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Temporal and Spiritual and Commons in this Present Parliament assembled and by the Authority of the same That from and after the Passing of this Act it shall and may be lawful for the Vicar of the Parish and Parish Church of Rochdale in the County of Lancaster for the Time being by Indenture or Indentures duly executed to demise or Lease all or any Part or Parts of the said Glebe Lands and Premises and of the Buildings standing thereon unto any Person or Persons who shall be willing to build upon and improve the same for any Term or Number of Years not exceeding ninety-nine years which Lease or Leases shall be renewable at any Time and shall commence and take effect in Possession and not in Reversion with Liberty for the Lessee or Lessees to take down all or any Part of the Buildings now standing thereon in such Lease or Leases to be comprized and to convert or dispose of the Materials thereof to such Uses and Purposes as therein shall be mentioned and agreed upon so as in the said Lease or Leases there shall be reserved the best and most improved Ground Rent or Ground Rents that can be had or obtained for the Benefit of the said Vicar and his successors to be paid quarterly without taking any sum of Money or other Thing by way of Fine Income or Foregift except as hereinafter is excepted and so as the Lessee or Lessees execute a counterpart or counterparts thereof and enter into Covenants to build and keep in Repair the Messuages and Buildings intended and agreed to be built and to surrender the same at the expiration of the Term by such Lease or Leases to be granted and so as in such Lease or Leases there be contained a power of Re-entry for nonpayment of the Ground Rent or Ground Rents thereby to be reserved.

And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid That it shall and may be lawful for the said Thomas Wray to take and receive of and from any Person or Persons to

whom he shall grant a Building Lease or Leases as aforesaid any sum or sums of Money by way of Fine Income or Foregift not exceeding in the whole the sum of one Hundred and Fifty Pounds and to apply the same to reimburse himself such sum or sums as he shall have expended in obtaining this Act.

And be it hereby Declared and Enacted by the authority aforesaid That all and every such Lease and Leases so to be made of the said Glebe Lands and Premises in pursuance of this Act shall be good valid and effectual in Law to all intents and purposes.

Provided always and be it further enacted That nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed to extend to impower the said Thomas Wray or his successors vicars of the said vicarage to grant any Lease or Leases by Virtue of this Act of the Parsonage House belonging to the said Vicarage or of the Gardens adjoining to the said House or of the Field called the Broad Field in which the said House stands (except a Part of the said Broad Field where the same is adjoining to the Present High Road leading from Rochdale to Manchester containing 180 feet in Breadth and no more) or of any Barns or out-houses now standing in the said Field or of the Fields called the Higher Sparrow Hill the Lower Sparrow Hill the Cant Hill and the Stone Holme.

Saving always to the Kings Most Excellent Majesty his Heirs and Successors and to all and every Person and Persons Bodies Politic and Corporate his or their Heirs Successors Executors or Administrators other than such except the said Archbishop of Canterbury and his Successors and the said Thomas Wray and his Successors all such Estate Right Title Interest Claim and Demand of into and out of all and singular the Glebe Lands and Premises so to be leased as aforesaid as they every or any of them respectively had before the Passing of this Act or could or might have had held or enjoyed in case this Act had not been made.

An act to Enable the Vicar of the Parish of Rochdale in the county of Lancaster, to Grant a Lease or Leases of the Glebe Lands belonging to the said Vicarage, 1764.

(*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. viii. pp. 99-102.)

That this Act, however much needed, involved considerable sacrifices to the vicar we have some proof of. We may quote the case of Chorlton *v.* Smith, tried at Lancaster Assizes, March 14, 1770. The trial arose out of a supposed water-trespass on the glebe lands, and was between two of the vicar of Rochdale's tenants. In the plaintiff's declaration we have the phrase :—

The present vicar of Rochdale, Dr. Wray, obtained an Act of Parliament enabling the Vic. of y^t^ place for the time being to make and renew Leases of the Glebe for 99 years. An Act as ill-advisedly obtained and ineffectually planned for answering the good effects intended by it, and as precipitately and inconsiderately put in execution as was possible for anything for the utmost folly to invent or ignorance to practice.

It would seem that Charles Smith, Isaac Smith, and John Smith then lately deceased, took a lease of parcel of the glebe,

dated 18th July, 1764, upon which to build a mill, but this lease could not be executed for twelve months on account of Charles Smith's residing in Lisbon for many years before and a year after its date.

Chorlton, the defendant, took a lease 3rd January, 1766, for which he had agreed in May Day, 1764, of lands called Anchor Housing, and Water-side, &c.

It seems that the trespass complained of was a diversion of a certain goit or stream by the plaintiffs, and that the question in dispute was whether the recent Act of Parliament enabled the vicar to grant anything but building leases, and whether it would be extended to farm leases, water rights, &c.

A cross action was commenced in Michaelmas Term, 10 Geo. III., in the King's Bench, but it would seem the question in dispute was amicably settled, Chorlton assigned his interest to Mr. Richard Gore, and in a note to Mr. Ferrand, the attorney, from Mr. Gore, dated Newbold Lane, Tuesday forenoon, 1770, he says: "I found the Dr. (Wray) in a good humour, though I think he rather repented after he had put the lease into my hands, as he seem'd impatient at its taking so much time, &c. He wants all differences to be adjusted, and is uneasy." (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xxxi. p. 389.)

Mr. Raines elsewhere says, that after the Act was obtained the vicar offered Mr. Chadwick (the father of old Mr. John Chadwick of the Packer, who died in October, 1837, *æt.* 81) his father-in-law Kershaw Stott, and two others, all the vicarage land specified in the Act for building purposes, during the term of his life, for the clear annual sum of 300*l.* Not knowing how to raise the money, and supposing that the Doctor over-rated the building propensity of his parishioners, the parties declined the proposal.

The vicars have always let the glebe land at low prices, and in large parcels, which, being sublet, the original tenants have been considerable gainers. "At present" (*i.e.*, 1833), says Mr. Raines, "the vicar receives 20*l.* per annum from *Summer Castle*, originally let by Dr. Wray, and by sub-letting the occupier makes from two

to three hundred pounds a year. This lease will expire about 1864. Nor is this a singular instance of the vicar's liberality. Two large fields were taken of Dr. Drake, called Bell Flats, at an annual rent of 40*l.*, by the Taylors of Guide Post, and an ample fortune has arisen from the circumstance." (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. viii. p. 103.)]

In 1764 Dr. Wray took an active part in the building of a chapel at Friarmere, in the Yorkshire portion of his great parish. The correspondence on the subject with Bishop Keene and his officials is still in existence,* and proves Dr. Wray to have been a man acquainted with habits of business. After numerous obstacles had been overcome, Musgrave Briscoe of Wakefield, Esq., conveyed the site for the chapel on the 24 January, 1765, although the same was not consecrated by Bishop Keene until the 4 June, 1768, when Dr. Wray preached the consecration sermon, and out of respect to him the chapel was dedicated to *St. Thomas*.†

About this time he had the misfortune to engage in a correspondence with the Rev. John Hegginbottam, M.A., incumbent of Saddleworth, who appears to have regarded with some jealousy the erection of the new chapel at Friarmere, which had been promoted by Mrs. Buckley of Grotton Head, a lady of wealth and piety, whom he had, unhappily, offended. The Dr. addressed the old curate with great force, and established his right not only to the patronage of Friarmere, but also to that of Saddleworth, which had been long disputed.‡

He had the assistance of a curate at Rochdale, whose stipend appears to have been 40*l.* a year, and the Dr. seems to have taken his full share of the most laborious part of the duty. In 1765 he obtained an order from Bishop Keene to regulate the hour at which funerals should take place, owing to the serious inconvenience which he experienced from the caprices and irregularities of the parishioners. He was permitted to defer the interment of

* See *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. Original Letters.

† *Teste.* Rev. John Buckley, incumbent of Friarmere, 1829.

‡ See his Letters in the *Lanc. MSS. vol. Original Letters.*

the corpse brought to the church after the hour named, until the following day, unless upon some extraordinary occasion to be allowed by himself or his curate. This rule was much opposed by the generality of the parishioners and occasioned considerable heat, although a public no less than an individual convenience.

Dr. Wray was the first vicar who had the moral courage to prohibit the annual notice of the Rushbearing being announced by the sexton from a tomb stone in the churchyard after the Sunday evening service, and he has recorded that the scenes of profligacy which were witnessed at these saturnalia induced him to suppress what had been originally a harmless and perhaps a religious festival, although he said he agreed with a celebrated infidel that "the State lost more subjects by *Festivals* than by *Battles*." It was probably not true that what led to the attempt to suppress these annual exhibitions was the circumstance of the Dr. himself witnessing a quarrel, or battle, between the rival promoters of the rush carts of Newbold and Lowerplace, while two men, who had formed part of the procession, stood by in *surplices* with *open Bibles* in their hands, not as peace-makers but as active accomplices in the drunken affray!*

Although humane and benevolent, he took, like Roger Ascham and Dr. Whitby, an interest in the barbarous sport of cockfighting, and generally attended the Grammar School on Shrove Tuesday, when this heathen amusement was practised — at least I was so informed by the Rev. Wm. Hodgson, the master of the Grammar School, who became the usher in 1792 to the Rev. John Shaw, the intimate friend of the Dr.†

He was much skilled in medicinal herbs and simples, and

* This anecdote was told to me by Mr. John Chadwick, sen., Packer Street, 1830. It may be inferred that the 'Surplices' and 'open Bibles' were the last remnants of the *old religious* procession. See Nelson's Life of Bp. Bull, p. 362, 8vo., 1713, where an account will be found of Bull having suppressed a wake in his parish of Aveling, near Stroud, in Gloucestershire, owing to the disorders it occasioned.

† In 1762, the very year of his appointment to the vicarage of Rochdale, he was elected a trustee of the Free Grammar School of Bury, probably at the instigation of the Hon. and Rev. John Stanley, M.A., the rector. He filled the office until his death.

frequently relieved the poor by the wise and judicious application of such domestic pharmacy. His garden was well stocked with these healing plants, and might be another Iberia or Colchis, although I believe the neighbouring factories and their smoky columns have long deprived it of that classical reputation. In his conduct towards dissenters from the Church he appears to have evinced more candour and moderation than some of his parishioners thought necessary, although he was firm and consistent in his adherence to the doctrines and polity of the Church, and fully entered into the spirit of the prayer which beseeches God to take away from us all pride and prejudice, and whatever else may hinder us from godly union and concord. He seems to have made a wide distinction between the rights of conscience and the concession of political power, and whilst he certainly conceded the former in the widest acceptation of the term, he felt it necessary to restrain the extension of the latter, especially towards the Roman Catholics, whose peculiar views he openly assailed and vigorously resisted as inimical no less to the civil than to the religious rights of mankind.* There was, however, the less occasion for this mode of proceeding in Rochdale, as during his Incumbency there was not a single Roman Catholic family throughout his extensive and thickly peopled parish.

[The following notes about the early Methodists in Rochdale during Dr. Wray's vicariate are interesting. In J. Wesley's *Journal* I find the entries:—

Oct. 18, 1749. I rode at the desire of John Bennett to Rochdale, in Lancashire. As soon as ever we entered the town we found the streets lined on both sides with multitudes of people, shouting, cursing, blaspheming, and gnashing upon us with their teeth. Perceiving it would not be practicable to preach abroad, I went into a large room, open to the street, and called aloud, "Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts." The word of God prevailed over the fierceness of man. None opposed or interrupted, and there was a very remarkable change in the behaviour of the people as we afterwards went through the town. We came to Bolton about five in the evening. We had no sooner entered the main street than we perceived the lions at Rochdale were lambs in comparison of those at Bolton. (*J. Wesley's Works*, 3rd ed., 1829, vol. ii. p. 163.)

April 3rd, 1752. I rode to Bank House, near Rochdale. (*Ibid.*, 253.)

This was on his way from Manchester to Leeds.

* Rev. W. Hodgson, 1830.

"It is commonly stated that Methodism was introduced into Rochdale on the one hand by Bennett, from Derbyshire, and on the other by Grimshaw of Haworth, and others, from Yorkshire. The first societies in the parish, it is believed, were formed at Smallbridge and Bagslate." (*Teste* Henry Howorth.)

It was some years after this when the Methodists apparently first formed "a society" in Rochdale. This was perhaps the work of Matthew Mayer, of Portwood Hall, near Stockport, who was born in 1740, and for 50 years was a very active evangelist among the Methodists. We are told "he had relatives in Middleton and Oldham, whither he went to preach. From thence he went to Buersil, a village near Rochdale, where he also formed a small society. To this place some persons came to him to request him to go to Rochdale. He accepted the invitation, and on the Sunday afternoon, after service was ended in the church, he stood up and preached in the street, near the market cross, without any opposition (about 1764 or 1765). In May, 1770, Mr. Mayer took a short tour in Yorkshire, and preached at Rochdale on the Sunday." (*A Brief Account of Baillie Street Sunday School, Rochdale*, by Henry Howorth, Rochdale, 1883, p. 17.)

In *Wesley's Journal* we have the entry:—"March 29th, 1770. I preached in the new preaching house at Rochdale."* (*Op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 394.)]

Dr. Wray was firm in maintaining, both by precept and example, what he conceived to be truth, although he sometimes incurred the risk of losing his friends by so doing. His Whig neighbour, Colonel Townley of Belfield, an easy and popular man, had cultivated literature and was well acquainted with all the leading men of science at Cambridge, where he had been educated and long resided with his uncle, Mr. Commissary Greaves. Having imbibed liberal notions on religious subjects from men like Arch-

* [This meeting house was situated in Toad Lane. It was afterwards converted into a theatre, and was on the site of the present co-operative store. Dr. Adam Clarke refused to preach in Rochdale for some time because of the sale, and, in his view, perverted use of the premises.]

deacon Blackburne, Dr. Priestly, and Dr. Percival, all of whom were in the habit of visiting him, he became inflamed with the desire of rendering himself conspicuous by disseminating these new theories throughout the parish. Like the dissatisfied theologians of the "Feathers' Tavern" and "Confessional" school, he was scandalized by creeds and wounded by articles, and wrote in the Manchester newspapers of the day with vigour and energy against them. The undaunted censor of the Church, he was, nevertheless, the candid, though perhaps unconscious, defender of the Rochdale clergy, and stated that he absented himself from his own parish church whenever the Athanasian Creed was appointed to be read, because his "arguments, unfortunately, had not convinced *the amiable Vicar*." Dr. Wray probably considered it to be a new, as it was certainly a startling, thing to be taught theology by a soldier, and very soberly and wisely trusted to the teaching of the Church rather than to that of the son of Mars, whose bold essays in divinity bring to mind Sir Kenelm Digby's ingenious baboon playing on a guitar.

The Dr. generally preached in defence of this creed on the day it was appointed to be read,* and was never backward in producing the strong reasons which first led the Church to adopt, and afterwards to retain it, in her service. His arguments, honesty, and consistency in this respect, in at least one instance, fixed an undecided, if it did not reclaim, a deluded person, from whom I had the relation of the fact, and who remained to the end of a long life a warm advocate for the use of the Athanasian Creed.

From this anecdote the tone and tenor of Dr. Wray's teaching may be inferred, and it is quite evident that the philosophical opinions and insidious infidelity of Essex Street had found no favour in his sight, and that no combination of specious and rationalistic *dogmata*, however popular, could lead him to deviate from the old paths of catholic verity.

Whilst thus zealous in contending for the fundamental doctrines of the Church, when assailed by some of his own commu-

* *Teste* Rev. W. Hodgson, 1830.

tion. His moderation led him to hold personal intercourse with others who had seceded from the Church, and whose doctrinal views were, at this time, no less unsound. It was owing to his influence and recommendation that Mrs. Hardman, the widow of a wealthy Presbyterian merchant of Rochdale, relinquished her jealousy of the Church, and it was her high opinion of his character which induced her to consult him in 1768, respecting the foundation of her projected English school in Rochdale. Dr. Wray and Colonel Townley obtained from William, Lord Byron, the gift of the site,* and the former exercised his influence by inducing Mrs. Hardman to appoint five churchmen as trustees, along with the vicar of Rochdale for the time being, together with seven Presbyterians, in whom the appointment of the master and the management of the endowment was vested, and also prevailed upon her to enjoin the regular teaching of the *Church Catechism* in the school. Sincerely desirous of improving a defective system of education, and having been requested to revise the rules, he made several important and happy alterations (which I have seen in his own hand writing), and on their being submitted by him to Mrs. Hardman, were afterwards adopted by her and embodied in the trust deed. Amongst the rest, it may be named, that the scholars were required to observe some of the most solemn festivals and fasts of the Church, not generally regarded by any class of sectarians, and thus, at least, a knowledge of the great truths of Christianity was secured to the scholars. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xiv. p. 354, etc.)

That Mrs. Hardman should have consulted Dr. Wray rather than her friend Dr. Priestley may be attributed to her regard for the mild and amiable character of the former, as it is well known that she held opinions on most subjects connected with religion in consonance with the latter, and at the very time (1768) she was taking counsel of Dr. Wray, Priestley, then of Warrington, was publishing his "Free Address to Protestant

* Although subsequent vicars claimed the adjoining land as parcel of the glebe, and contended that the manorial lord had no power to grant the school site.

Dissenters on the subject of the Lord's Supper," wherein he contended that nothing more was designed by the act of communion than a bare profession of Christianity, and that no profession of any sort was now necessary; denying that it was a sacrament or a mystery, and that the Church of England erred in requiring her members to observe it, as it was of no importance at all to man's salvation whether he communicated or not. Dr. Wray, believing in a Divine revelation, and not thinking it a matter of indifference whether a man was a Christian or a Deist, looked with deep concern upon such audacious attempts to corrupt the faith, even of those who did not belong to the Church. He therefore wrote his "Sacramental Devotions" (published 1772, 12mo.), in which he proved that the holy sacrament was something more than a simple memorial of an historical fact — that it was an essential article of the Christian faith, and "generally necessary to salvation." He provided a manual of "Prayers for the Assistance of the Holy Spirit," and recommended their use, morning and evening, during the special preparation to be made the week before the holy sacrament was to be received.

To show his view of the importance of this Christian feast, he gave a large and massive silver flagon to the church, to be used at the holy communion, with this inscription engraven upon it— "The Gift of Thomas Wray, D.D., Vicar of this Parish, 1773."

At this time the smallness of the livings, and the consequent poverty of the clergy, had brought a deserving body of men — though, perhaps, too little of devotees — into a position which it is almost difficult to believe ever existed. There had been an instance well known to Dr. Wray, of a clergyman in his parish who had received parish relief, and one of his own contemporaries had received 5*s.* a Sunday as a remuneration for his clerical labours, and half that sum had been paid by another to an Oxford divine for assisting him at his church, when old and blind.* Little respect would be paid to these men whose patient poverty and

* *Lanc. MSS.* — Todmorden.

uncomplaining submission to insult and contempt were their chief recommendation in the eyes of their worldly-minded and unbelieving parishioners; and I find that when Mr. Timothy Normanton, a Cambridge man, and a curate with 30*l.* a year, died suddenly, leaving a widow and young family altogether destitute, Dr. Wray liquidated the debt due from the poor curate to Mr. Nicholls, the registrar of the diocese, for Normanton, it seems, had been a surrogate and had left his account with the court of Chester unsettled.

In the Rubric to his "Sacramental Devotions," Dr. Wray provided a short prayer "proper to be used when you contribute any thing towards the support of religion. If the offerings be for the use of the minister say," ——— and also another prayer when "the offerings are to be employed towards the augmenting of any poor benefice, which is a truly pious and necessary way of disposing our charity, there being above two thousand parishes in England, where, by reason of sacrilegious impropriations the minister's allowance is very mean, in many places not above eight or ten pounds a year" (p. 122), and the Christian communicant is taught to "abhor the abominable sin of sacrilege," and to pray that God would "incline the hearts of our governors to restore unto Him the maintenance of His ministers."

He also published "Prayers adapted to every Morning and Evening of the Week, for the use of Families. To which are added, others proper to be used by a single Person in Private; and also Sacramental Devotions." Leeds, 1772. 12mo.*

It may be mentioned that these Prayers were highly valued and almost daily used for many years by the late Reverend Dr. Whitaker, vicar of Whalley, who knew the author personally, and spoke of him (as the Rev. R. N. W. told me) as "one of the best men he ever knew."

That learned historian has admirably, but too briefly, sketched

* [In 1770 a Volume of Prayers for Families was printed at Leeds, but singularly enough the author's name is given as Dr. Ray, vicar of Rochdale, showing that the Doctor did not see the volumes through the press. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. i. p. 285.)]

the character of Dr. Wray, with a master's pencil, describing him as "a pious, abstemious, mortified man, never married, of weak constitution, of most amiable deportment, yet a zealous reprover of vice in public and in private: he had learned, too, from his master Secker,* not to despise the meanest, nor to shrink from the most disgusting offices of his function — it ought rather perhaps to be said, that both had learned this temper of a higher Teacher." (*Hist. of Whalley*, vol. ii. p. 430.)

Animated by a holy desire of benefiting his parishioners, especially in seasons of sickness, and often during the prevalence of infectious and contagious diseases, he never shrank from any duty, however repulsive, painful, or dangerous.

Chaucer well described the faithful pastor:

> Wide was his Parish and houses far asonder
> But he ne left nought for no rain ne thonder
> In sickness and in mischief to visite
> The farrest in his parish, moche and lite.

He was not an eloquent man, but earnest and impassioned in the pulpit, which led an old man to describe him as one who "often got into a *passion* in the pulpit, and *flighted* his hearers, because he could not make them as good as himself."

He found the air of Rochdale too bleak and humid, and had long suffered from an affection of the chest. He took almost daily exercise on horseback, managing his horse with great dexterity, though always attended by a footman. He often called at the houses of his distant parishioners, and seldom left without some suitable advice or religious admonition.

He was especially attentive to young persons, and whilst public

* Archbishop Secker was one of a large family who had been brought up Dissenters. He was educated in early youth by Mr. Frankland of Attercliffe, near Sheffield, and was intended for the ministry. Having overcome the prejudices of Nonconformity, he was ordained in 1722 by the Bishop of Durham. In 1734 George II. presented him to the See of Bristol, an account of which is contained in a letter to his brother, George Secker, a member of a Dissenting meeting house at Coventry. (See Hunter's *History of Hallamshire* for some curious original letters of the Primate, pp. 167–8, 1819, fol.)

catechising in the church was always observed by him during the afternoon service in summer time, he frequently delivered lectures on the Church Catechism in an easy and familiar style, and from the specimens I have heard related, adapted to the capacities of those for whose instruction they were designed. In this particular he had evidently imitated "his master, Secker," whose lectures are deservedly well known.

During his incumbency the subject of enlarging the church of Rochdale was frequently brought before the vestry, and several attempts were made to carry out the object, all of which failed, except that of re-seating, or rather of removing the open benches, and for the first time pewing the church. This plan was so unpopular that it was carried out at the expense of Mr. Stead, an opulent parishioner. The north wall of the church could not be extended as once proposed, nor could a gallery be erected in that part of the church, as again recommended, owing to the shallow foundations of the fabric. Dr. Wray deeply regretted these repeated failures of increasing the church accommodation of his parishioners, but was unable to excite a sufficient interest in his wealthy townsmen to undertake the building of a new church.

[In the parish books are some interesting references at this period :—

"June 10th, 1762, 7 Ringers were appointed by name for the present year under good behaviour."

"October 13, 1763, the Ringers were to have yearly during pleasure *7l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* to ring on all Sundays, Fasts and Festivals, the King's Birth day, Accession, and Coronation Days, and all Publick Rejoicing Days, Thos. Wray, Vicar, attended." (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xv. p. 181.) *

*[In regard to the ringers I find one or two earlier notices which I had overlooked, thus :— there is an order entered in the parish books, 15th February, 1715–16, that the ringers are only to have 5*l.* per annum for ringing on Sundays, holidays, and on public occasions, and their payment seems for the most part to have been regulated by the vestry. 1 June, 1746, a similar order.

25th August, 1752, the 6 ringers are to have 6*l.* per annum during pleasure. (*ib.*)]

In 1864, during the re-pewing of the church, and other considerable alterations, the royal arms were removed. At the back, painted on the wood, was the following inscription :—

Thomas Wray, D.D., Vicar.
Thomas Hill,
John Leech,
Edward Taylor, } Churchwardens.
Richard Gore,
Anno Dm̄, 1763
Timothy Normanton, Curate.
Ralph Taylor, Parish Clerk.
Richard Knowles, Sexton.
John Collier, jun. (son of "Tim Bobbin"), *pinxit.*
John Stott, Joyner.

(*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xv. p. 184.)

The sextons of Rochdale, as elsewhere, had multifarious duties. Thus we read in the parish accounts for July 12th, 1739, that Thomas Knowles, the then sexton, was to have 5*s.* per annum for keeping the church steps clean, and on the 7th of June, 1764, he was allowed a guinea a year for walking in the church yard during divine service, *i.e.*, for performing the duties of beadle. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xv. pp. 172–3.)

"1766, Mr. Entwistle buried in the church 3*s.* 4*d.*"

"18th September, 1776. It was ordered in vestry that a small loft, or pew, over the seats at each end of the organ should be made for the use of the singing boys, after licence procured for the purpose. A faculty was granted 18th January, 1777." (*Ibid.* p. 178.)

"From a notice on the 9th of May, 1773, it appears that the communion plate, two surplices, and a communion table cloth, had been stolen from the church. A person of the name of Edmund Tattersall was apprehended soon after, and in his custody were found one of the surplices and part of the other. He was sent to Lancaster, prosecuted at the expence of the parish and convicted. The communion plate was found secreted

in a stone quarry on Blackstone Edge, and a reward of five guineas was given to the man who brought it back. On the 29th September, 1779, it appears that two other persons were in custody, and committed to Lancaster on suspicion of being concerned in the felony, and the churchwardens were ordered to be indemnified as to all expences incurred in discovering or prosecuting them."

"2nd July, 1778. It was ordered that for the future all the churchwardens' bills and vouchers should be filed and kept in the vestry for the inspection of the Leypayers, to be delivered in when the inventory was delivered in of the goods belonging to the church and school. And the churchwardens should in future call in all the church bills 10 days before the passing of the accounts." (*Ibid.* p. 189.)

The vicar attended the vestry meetings until near his end, thus:— 1762, April 22. There is the attestation at the foot of the parish accounts. "These Bills approv'd by Vestrey and allow'd by me, Thomas Wray, Vicar."

1767, April 30. The same form occurs signed by Thos. Wray, Robert Entwistle, Lawrence Lord, James Holland, James Durden.

1771, At the Easter meeting "Tho Bellas for Dr. Wray" (this was the curate). At the vestry annual meeting, April 18, 1777, Dr. Wray presided for the last time. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. i. p. 177.)]

Dr. Wray had the character of being a liberal and charitable man, although his income was never large. He entirely supported his pious mother,* and educated his only brother. No subscription

* In Bentham churchyard is a tomb with the following inscription: "Here lie the remains of Thomas Wray of Upper Bentham, who departed this life September 29, 1731, aged 39 years.

Here also lies interred the body of Elizabeth Wray, Relict of the said Thomas Wray, who departed this life April 19, 1767, aged 70 years.

Her surviving sons, Thomas and William Wray, impressed with a grateful sense of her uncommon attention to their education, and her most endearing maternal affection for the 36 years during which she was a widow, erected this monument, with a desire to perpetuate the memory of the best of parents." (Transcribed by the Rev. Willoughby S. E. Rooke, M.A., curate of Bentham, and chaplain to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, December 13, 1849.)

was commenced in the parish for benevolent purposes but he was one of the largest contributors, and I have been told that the sick and needy were almost daily relieved by his bounty, whilst the widows and orphans of the poor clergy, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and its twin sister for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, long shared his patronage and experienced his support. It was a rule of his, every Christmas Day to give Bibles, Prayer Books, Nelson's Companion to Feasts and Fasts, and other religious tracts to his poor parishioners, some of which were in existence and carefully preserved in 1829. He truly "delivered the poor when he cried, the needy also, and him that had no helper." He had no private interests and no selfish views, and everyone felt that his zeal for the Church and the State was real, sincere, and disinterested. [In 1770 was founded the well-known and long-lived subscription library known as Hartley's library, and in 1778 Dr. Wray's name occurs as its president.]

Although his style, as a writer, is diffuse, and his arrangement not very regular, these defects are amply compensated by the subject matter. There are some expressions used by him which have been justly censured as being either too familiar or too amatory in addresses to the Divine Being, and it is certain that Priestley and Blackburne were not likely to admit such a phraseology into their creed (if they had one), although no evil consequences were likely to result from the use of warm devotional expressions in that "free and candid," though cold and flinty era. Dr. Wray maintained that fervour in prayer was scriptural and indispensable, and that unless the heart was concerned in the sacrifice the offering was ineffectual. Thus he coincided with Dr. Hare in opinion on this subject, and differed entirely, as might be expected, from Hoadly, who maintained that the feelings had nothing to do with prayer, which ought always to be offered in a rational, sober, and measured strain. Dr. Wray's prayers, especially those for the king, the church, the clergy, and the country, are, like his sermons, fervent and impassioned, and breathe a very earnest and devout spirit. F F

His character may be traced from the little he has left in print, and, together with his letters, and the reminiscences of a few old friends, we may describe him as humble-minded and retiring, of great integrity and circumspection, simple in his manners, devout, contemplative, and charitable. If his personal appearance was like that of the individual to whom he was compared by James Royds, Esq., he was a man of slight and fragile form, with an attenuated and pale, but mild and expressive countenance, not containing much depth of thought, genius, or individuality. He was hardly what Carlyle would call "a distinct man."

Whitaker observes that "those who knew him will not be displeased to have the peculiar expression of his countenance recalled to their memory by a single stroke from the hand of Mr. Thyer, the excellent editor of Butler's remains:—

> While modest Wray with silent grace
> Just steals a meaning smile.*

As an evidence of the high estimation in which he was held by bishops Keene and Porteus, he was occasionally appointed by those prelates to examine candidates for holy orders, although he did not fill any official station under them. They, however, were well aware that, like Simon the son of Onias (*Eccles.* iv. 11), "when he went up to the holy altar, he made the garments of holiness honourable," and he carefully endeavoured that others

* Robert Thyer was the Chetham Librarian in Manchester (1732–1763) and published in London "Samuel Butler's genuine Remains, with Notes, 2 vols. 8vo., 1759." He was an excellent layman and is named by Dr. Johnson in his "Lives of the Poets" as "the learned Mr. Thyer."

No. 7,999 in the Chetham Library is a "*MS.* Theological Common-place Book, 4to." by Robert Thyer. He bequeathed some of his books to the Chetham Library.

Dr. Hibbert Ware informed me that the *Poem* from which this couplet is taken is in *MS.*, and that he possessed a copy, which his premature death prevented my seeing. (It is now printed with my notes in *Byrom's Remains*, 1854). Robert Thyer *ob.* October 27, 1781, *æt.* 72, having married Silence, daughter of Mr. John Wagstaffe of Manchester, merchant, and of his wife Silence, daughter of the Rev. Charles Beswicke, M.A., Rector of Radcliffe. Mrs. Thyer *ob.* March 4, 1753, *æt.* 38. They had no surviving issue, and lie buried in the choir of the Cathedral, Manchester.

should follow his example.* And yet his humility often led him to utter the confession "Mea culpa, mea culpa." †

A plain stone within the altar rails of Rochdale church has the following inscription, which Whitaker says, "renders any farther account of this good man superfluous," although further accounts would be extremely acceptable to many who revere his memory.

"H. S. E.

THO. WRAY S. T. P. HUJUS ECCLESIÆ VICARIUS, OB. 22° DIE FEB. 1778, ANNOS NATUS 55." ‡

He died intestate, having disposed of his income during his life in works of piety and charity, and therefore had very little to leave behind him.

He was attended in his last sickness by his brother, the Rev.

* The following letter was addressed by Dr. Wray to Bishop Keene, dated Rochdale, October 22, 1765.

"My Lord—My brother has found out by diligent enquiry, Mr. Beckett, a young person, now schoolmaster of Wray, and recommends him as a proper candidate for the sacred order of Deacons, and Mr. Heginbottom's curacy. My brother believes him to be a modest, sober-minded, and well dispositioned youth, and better qualified for the Ministerial function than two that have unfortunately been ordained within this year. When your Lordship shall please to signify your approbation of Mr. Beckett's credentials and how he may come at Letters Dimissory, provided he have a letter from me certifying that he has passed a decent examination, as your Lordship has thought proper to make me his examiner, I will desire him to make Rochdale in his way to St. Asaph. He could not come here without great inconvenience before it was necessary to transmit his instruments to your Lordship, as he lives at a considerable distance from this place and is engaged in a School. I am sorry your lordship has had so much trouble in this affair. Mr. Croft the vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale, is in a poor state of health, and not likely to recover. My brother desires I will present his duty to your Lordship, and I am, my Lord, with all due respect, your Lordships most humble servant, THOS. WRAY."

This good man was John, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Beckett of Wray, baptized 6th June 1742, according to the certificate of John Tatham, vicar of Melling, 12th October 1765. Heginbottom's nomination was dated 18th October 1765, and the salary given was £30 a year. He was ordained deacon at Chester, 17 Nov. 1765. Mr. Beckett was afterwards minister of Heights, and died Incumbent of Hey, in Ashton-under-Lyne.

† *Teste.* Mr. Hodgson.

‡ In the Register of Burials is this entry: "1778, February 25, Thomas Wray, D.D., Vicar of this place for fifteen years."

William Wray, M.D., vicar of Tunstall, in the northern part of Lancashire, who, on the 19th day of March, 1778, as next of kin, administered to the personal effects of the deceased, being bound in the penal sum of 1000*l.*, along with the Rev. John Shaw, incumbent of St. Mary's, Rochdale, and Robert Benson of Clapham, in the county of York, yeoman. 500*l.* was a small sum for the vicar of such a parish as Rochdale to die possessed of, and he had no real estate. He is said to have injured himself by the large legal expences incurred in obtaining *the Act of Parliament* for leasing the glebe, and for which his successors, no less than the parishioners, are so much indebted to him.

I am informed by the venerable vicar of Melling (the Rev. John Tatham, instituted in 1794, living 1849), that he was personally acquainted with Dr. William Wray of Tunstall, who was educated for the profession of physic, and obtained a Scotch diploma. Being of a serious turn, and a modest humble man, studiously inclined, he was advised to take holy orders, which he did, and without having practised physic. He married, and had an only child, a daughter, who died before him. He was an amiable and excellent man, and a very good neighbour, living for many years only two miles from Melling. (Nov. 28, 1849.)

The Rev. William Wray frequently visited his brother at Rochdale and officiated for him. In December 1763, September 1764, January 1765, he signed his name in the Register books, "Wm. Wray, curate," but he does not appear to have been at any time the *licensed* curate of Rochdale.

LINES IN MEMORY OF THE REV. DR. WRAY, VICAR OF ROCHDALE, WHO DIED 22ND FEBRUARY, 1778.

From a copy in the possession of the Rev. W. R. Hay, 1831.

"Beatus; procul negotiis; ambitione procul."

Whilst late o'er *Tunstall's* urn we shed the tear,
And mourn'd his loss whom all the good revere,
The Church in sable and her sons in grief,
Our glorious Head in pity sent relief;

And an ambassador with shepherd's care,
Taught us our cross in storms and calms to bear:
For *Wray*, the gentle, learned, meek, and good,
With every virtue, every grace endued,
Taught us the way to heaven's immortal sphere,
And daily trod the path himself whilst here;
Toil'd like a labourer in the rugged field,
And with a fisher's patience ne'er would yield;
For he'd imbib'd from holy founts above,
A priest's meek wisdom and a Saviour's love.
Though Cam. with learning's spoils his steps attends,
And purpled pride and Primates were his friends,
He soon from all ambition's paths retir'd,
Nor asked for what his work alone acquir'd.
Boldly he rous'd us from our slumb'ring state,
And taught the thoughtless on his God to wait;
Enforc'd submission to His righteous will,
And prov'd that Gilead's balm alone could heal.
Quick to reward — nor slow to punish sin,
Few could like him the wand'ring frail one win,
Bid hope arise and earthly bondage cease,
And shew that wisdom's ways are ways of peace.
Foremost was he the widow's tears to dry,
And point to Him the widow's spouse on high;
The orphan's sorrows eager to assuage,
The young to guide by inspiration's page,
The truth to guard from error's fatal rock,
And shield the altar from the sceptic's shock.
No niggard he of what the Church had giv'n,
But wisely liberal of the goods of Heav'n:
Contented he to leave a fairer spot,
And in the place of dragons cast his lot,
So that he might his Master's word declare,
And in his final benediction share;
Diffuse on earth the radiant light of love,
And, dying, bear it to the realms above.
This holy faith the Galilean taught,
And *Wray's* whole soul was with the lesson fraught.
His memory to his flock will long be dear,
They think their vicar had on earth no peer,
And they no other friend so true and tried,
So free from luxury, vanity, and pride.
Pure in his mind, and simple in his heart,
His happiness to all he would impart,

For grace and nature had their gifts conferr'd,
And sweet contentment's voice was always heard;
His labours in the Church on earth are o'er,
But in the Church above he lives for evermore.

T. B.*

[It is curious to contrast these flattering verses with an inscription on a grave-stone in the churchyard at Whitworth, in which Dr. Wray is referred to in bitter terms, although not by name.

Some difficulty arose about the consecration of the burial ground at Whitworth after the chapel had been rebuilt, and during the interval bodies were interred at the parish church. Mr. John Stott of Brown Wardle having meanwhile died, his friends "applied in vain to have canonical service performed over the remains of their son in the place which they frequented. Finding their request disregarded they forcibly interred the body without any solemnities and commemorated their spleen by the appended indecent epitaph, which Mr. Raines says was on a stone underneath the south wall of Whitworth chapel. Bishop Cleaver saw the inscription some years afterwards and expressed much astonishment that such a libel should be tolerated for an hour in a churchyard. He ordered the offensive stone to be immediately removed, but (so says tradition) no one durst venture to undertake the office."

Here resteth the body of James Stott, the son of John Stott of Brown Wardle, who departed this Life Sep. 19. 1781, in the 28th year of his age.

One hundred years it now appears.
Since corpse was first interred here.
When *Vicars* Christian faith did hold.
And minded Bibles more than gold.
My Funeral rites to solemnize
The Priests refuse, with specious lies
Yet Time by Death shall soon declare
How vile their worthless ashes are.

(*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. i. p. 143.)]

I find the following memoranda of the Rev. Dr. Wray entered by me in my "Pocket Almanack" in September 1830, as told

* Qu. Thos. Bellas, M.A., his curate?

me by James Chetham of Spotland, *æt.* 78, who remembered him very well, and held him in great reverence. I forget all about my informant, after a lapse of 28 years :—

Dr. Wray was very charitable, and made the heart of many a good curate with a small salary and small (qu. large?) family glad. He was often imposed upon as he was known to be liberal, and could refuse nobody who applied for help. He used to say he was God's steward and had to render an account. He was very fond of the Prayer Book. He said, the Bible first, and the Prayer Book next, and all books should be read with those two before us. Mr. Bellas said, the first time he read prayers before Dr. Wray, the Dr. said to him, *pray* your prayers, and never *read* them. At the Dr's. funeral were the Presbyterians from Blackwater chapel, and all the Methodists attended, and they used to call him "the good Doctor." John Wesley went to the vicarage when he came to Rochdale, and I think he slept there. He used often to get into a passion in the pulpit and flighted his congregation, because they would not be like him. He was a rare good man, and poor people could understand what he said in his sermons. They talk about conversion — if ever I was converted it was under Dr. Wray. The Dr. had a young groom called Tom Bamford, and he had offended his master, I think by swearing or something of that sort, and the lad thought he should lose his place. The Dr. sent for him into his study, and the lad, who had about a shilling a week's wage, thought it was to pay him off; the Dr. began to talk to him on repentance and forgiveness, and told him how difficult it was to forgive a fault, and how much repentance was necessary, and having urged him to ask forgiveness of God, forgave him, and said, 'Go and sin no more.' J. C. did not know whether T. B. became a religious man. He thought not. Dr. W. was a long time ailing, and very consumptive. A great peace-maker in the parish — none of the neighbouring ministers were fit to be compared with him in any thing. He used to go to Bath and London for advice in his sickness, and everybody was sorry when he left Rochdale. If any man was ever fit to die it was Dr. Wray. He was a quiet, peaceable man, and gave all that he had to the poor. I said, 'then he was like St. Laurence (D. and M.) as poor in the things of this world as he was rich in those of heaven'— and the old man heartily assented.

When old Mr. Barton Shuttleworth's father complained to Dr. Wray of the inroads made in the parish by the Methodists, and asked *how* they were to be driven out, the Dr. replied, "We must pray and preach them out" — and when it was observed that they prayed and preached out of doors, his answer was, "they are not avowed *enemies* of our Church and their's, and perhaps, after all, they are not far from the kingdom of God."

Thomas Ferrand of the Wood, Esq., January 3rd, 1835 : "He knew Dr. Wray very well. The Dr. always lived on his benefice without any other promotion, and cared nothing about preferment. He always 'maintained his principles, though moderate,

against those who differed from him. He did not accumulate the revenues of the church, but disposed of them in a very becoming manner. He received 700*l.* or 800*l.* a year at the most. He was a consistent Churchman and a Tory of the Pitt school. He was very mild and amiable, and of a cheerful and benevolent disposition. He was strict in his manner of living, and when he died every one thought he had died too soon. He was active in catechising the young, and did it in church in the public service time. He used to give religious books, and especially Prayer Books, to the poor, and sought to improve his parish, although he had no schools, and was nearly always an invalid, and it was thought that ill health made him look always sad and thoughtful. Dr. Holden and his sisters were much at the vicarage."

James Royds of Mount Falinge, Esq., D.D., May 16, 1835, said: "I have often wished that the life of Dr. Wray had been written. He was certainly, from all I ever heard, a very good man, when the clergy were not respected as they are now. Everybody respected him. My father used to say, 'he was a man of a meek and quiet spirit,' and this led him to maintain an habitual reserve in his general intercourse with his friends. If his conversational powers were not great and he seldom went into company, his unpretending manners, primitive habits, and religious character secured him the respect of all consistent men. There was great laxity in morals and freedom at the table in his day, but he never was known to transgress the bounds of propriety. Indeed his delicate health forbad it. He often went to Bath for the waters. The rules of the Church, as regards the feasts and festivals, were better observed in his day than they have been since, and Mr. Shaw always went with his scholars to church on Saints' days. He used to delight in catechising young people and examining them for confirmation, and the church in the afternoon was always full when he did this. He lived very plainly; kept a horse, but not a carriage, and was very charitable."

Mrs. Bamford of Yorkshire Street, Rochdale, *æt.* 93, 1834, said: "He had a meagre thin face and a low voice, but he sometimes got very warm in the pulpit. He was a shy man, and very quiet and gentle towards everybody." [The same old lady further reported of Dr. Wray, that he was the best vicar that Rochdale had had in her time. He was very humane and charitable. He lived quite retired, but all the poor people knew him and were relieved by him. Somebody had been talking to him against the Methodists, but he said very seriously to the person "never speak against good people." He was a very good Churchman notwithstanding. There was great grief in Rochdale when he died. He died of a consumption. He used to ride out on horseback almost every day with a servant attending him. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. i. p. 283.)]

The following letter, written by Dr. Wray, has been preserved among the Pike House Papers:—

Doctor Wray, Mr. Townley, and Mr. Royds present their comp[s] to Miss Halliwells, and beg the favour to be informed by them whether they claim any seat, pew, or sitting in Rochdale church, in behalf of their part of ye Humber estate.* They make this request on being appointed referees betwixt Major Chadwick and Mr. John Buckley,

* *i.e.*, a place called Humber Fold, near Littleborough.

the latter of whom claims part of a seat in Rochdale Church, on account of his share of the Humber estate.

Rochdale, June 14, 1777.

Addressed Miss Halliwells, Pike House. Written by Dr. Wray.

The following is a continuation of the abstract of the dealings with the tithes, etc., and gives the history of the rectory of Rochdale during Dr. Wray's vicariate :—

1 Jan. 1765. By Deed Poll (endorsed on the last abstracted Indre. under the hand and seal of the s'd Wm. L'd Byron in co'n of 1,440*l.* pd to him by the Hon. George Byron assigned to him. The s'd Rectory, Chapels and Tythes for the residue of s'd 21 y'rs. Cov^t. that L'd B. had done no Act to Incumber.

19 April, 1765. By another Deed Poll under the hand and seal of s'd Geo. Byron. He did in cons'on of 1,440*l.* paid to him by ye said Wm. Ld. Byron assign to ye s'd Wm. Ld. Byron the s'd Rectory, &c. for residue of s'd 21 yrs.

27 April, 1765. By Indre. betw. s'd L'd Abp. 1 pt. and Thos. Parry, Esq. 2 pt. in cons'on of ye surr. of ye Lease of 26 Mar. 1753, to s'd Wm. L'd Byron, s'd Abp. demised to s'd Parry the s'd Rectory, Chapels, Tyths, &c. for 21 y'rs on same terms.

27 April, 1769. By Indre. made betw. Frederick, Lord Abp. of Canterbury 1 pt. and Geo. Walmsley, James Walmsley, Benj. Walmsley and John Walmsley of Rachdale, Merch^ts. 2 pt. the Abp. on the surr^r of the last before abstr^d Ind're did demise to the s'd Walmsleys the s'd Rectory, Chapels, Tythes, &c., for 21 y'rs subject to the same Rent, Stipends, &c. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xi. p. 215.)]

1778. RICHARD HIND was born at Boddington, a small village ten miles from Daventry, in Northamptonshire, A.D. 1715.* He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, B.A. 1733, M.A. 1736, B.D. 1745, D.D. 1749. He was elected a student of Christ Church in 1730. In 1744 he was proctor of the University. (Le Neve, Hardy, vol. iii. p. 499.) He was presented by his college in 1754 to the vicarage of Shering, near Harlow, in Essex, being at that time domestic chaplain to Dr. Hayter, bishop of Norwich

In 1766, Archbishop Secker collated him to the rectory of St Anne's, Westminster [Whitaker says St. Anne's, Soho. (*Op.*

* He was the son of the Rev. Thomas Hind, D.D., "chaplain to the Bishop of London," descended from a good Wiltshire family, settled at Kington St. Michael, in which parish church several of the family were buried. They possessed the advowson of the rectory of Grittleton, near Chippenham, and lands at Easton Percy, adjoining the latter place, which descended to the Rev. Thomas Hind, rector of Ardley, and are now held by his grandson. (*Teste*, Rev. Tho. Lowe, 1850.)

cit., ii. 431 *f*, being an option which Sherlock, bishop of London, had given up, by way of compromise, to the Primate, whom he had refused St. George's, Hanover Square; and in the same year Hind obtained a dispensation to hold St. Anne's with the rectory of Shering. He was also appointed chaplain to Dr. Terrick, bishop of London. At this time he was secretary to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which office he held until he left London in the year 1778.

It was whilst rector of St. Anne's that an occurrence took place which threw a gloom over the rest of his life. On the 13th February, 1769, Dr. Hind appointed the Rev. Thomas Martin his curate, with a stipend of fifty guineas, and engaged "to continue him to officiate in his said church until he should be otherwise provided with some ecclesiastical preferment, unless by fault of him committed he should be lawfully removed from the same." On this title Mr. Martin was ordained by Bishop Terrick, and was afterwards appointed "reader" by the parishioners. On the 26th November, 1774, Dr. Hind gave him a written notice to quit the curacy in three months, for which, though repeatedly urged, he would assign no reason but his pleasure. Mr. Martin, therefore, relying on his title, persisted in keeping possession, and in performing, or attending to perform, the parochial duty. The Bishop required the curate to withdraw, but he still refused. His salary being demanded and refused, he brought an action. The cause came to a hearing in the Court of King's Bench, before Lord Mansfield and a jury of Middlesex, when his lordship was of opinion that the title written and subscribed by the defendant was not only expressed in words of legal obligation, but strengthened likewise by a solemn declaration of his intentions to fulfil the engagement therein expressed; that no admissible reason had been offered to invalidate this obligation, and that, therefore, a verdict must be given for the plaintiff, which his lordship recommended to be reserved for the opinion of the court. In the following term the questions arising from the case were fully argued. The Doctor's advocate grounded the defence

on three points: (1) Mr. Martin's incompetence to sue because the title only related to the Bishop, either as an *agreement* or a *security*; (2) That the obligation, if it ever extended to Mr. Martin, had become void by his acceptance of a readership, which was contended to be an *ecclesiastical preferment;* and (3) That he wanted the indispensable qualification of a curate, the *Bishop's license.* From any of these objections it was argued that Dr. Hind was entitled to a verdict. Lord Mansfield went through the whole case, and gave the judgment of the court, in substance, as follows: "Lest the indigence of ministers should bring discredit upon the Church, it is provided by the 33rd canon that if any bishop shall admit any person into the ministry who hath no title, then he shall keep and maintain him with all things necessary till he do prefer him to some ecclesiastical living." *Titles* are, therefore, necessarily required at ordinations to indemnify the Bishop, and likewise to secure a maintenance for the person ordained, and if such title be exhibited, as required by the canon, the Bishop can incur no penalty, nor be otherwise affected by any subsequent event; and therefore, though a title be literally an agreement with the Bishop, he transfers it by ordination to the curate, and its future operation applies *only* to him.

Upon this opinion, Mr. Martin's competency to sue was indisputably admitted.

Proceeding to the next objection, Lord Mansfield observed, "that no acquisition but *ecclesiastical preferment* could discharge the obligation of a title; that the readership did not in its nature fall under that description, and was, besides, a precarious employment, and the want of permanency would prevent its effect upon the title, even if admitted to be an ecclesiastical office."

In his observations upon the third objection his lordship "ad-admitted the necessity of a *Bishop's license*, but considered it in the present case to be fully implied though not formally expressed in Mr. Martin's letters of orders; for licenses and letters of orders being granted upon the same qualifications, and for the same purpose, an ordination to a curacy conveys the true spirit

of a licence, and invests the person ordained with the same privileges."

It was therefore the unanimous opinion of the court that the verdict should be confirmed.

The curate upon this resumed his functions, and here it might have been hoped the dispute would have ended; that the rector would have made a virtue of necessity, and that harmony would have been restored to the parish. But Dr. Hind immediately renewed hostilities in two other courts — the Chancery and the Common Pleas—and although by the mediation of Mr. Bromfield, a common friend, the suit in the latter was withdrawn and Mr. Martin suspended his answer to the bill in Chancery, in the moment of negotiation Dr. Hind caused an attachment to be issued against him, and the treaty was thereby broken. (*Gent. Mag.*, vol. xlvii. p. 281.)

Mr. Martin published an address to the inhabitants of the parish of St. Anne, Westminster, 8vo. pp. 59, 1777, wherein these facts are set forth, and although his own statements ought, perhaps, to be cautiously received, Dr. Hind's conduct is, unquestionably, much to be condemned. Martin says that Dr. Hind had introduced more curates into the parish during two years of his incumbency than were employed by his predecessors in almost a century before. These frequent changes were attributed to "the haughty, imperious, and tyrannical temper" of Dr. Hind. It was said that "his demeanour was ungracious and his sentiments illiberal"—and that his curates had strong personal objections to him. Martin speaks of the Doctor returning occasionally from "his summer residence," in Essex, not to be a blessing but the reverse to his London parishioners; but there is something uncomfortable in the confession, "at my first introduction I regarded him with a jealous eye, but he did not in anything appear to be particularly exceptionable," and the curate afterwards admits that they lived many years in perfect harmony, and that he had a very great affection for the Doctor. Notwithstanding these admissions, Martin states that is was a well known fact, that,

however rich in merit, and liberally endowed with amiable qualities, the affections of his parishioners remained uncaptivated either by his natural or acquired graces, and that they were strongly prejudiced against him. Martin says that in January, 1775, the Rev. Mr. Beadon, chaplain to Bishop Terrick, waited upon him (Martin) at Dr. Hind's request, and urged him to "leave the curacy gently" or he would be turned out "on some charge of immorality," and upon an interview with the Bishop of London, Martin says he found that Dr. Hind had neither overrated his influence with the Bishop, nor vainly boasted of the support which his lordship's authority would give him; but as the Bishop alleged no charge against Mr. Martin, the latter concluded that his lordship was influenced in his design to supersede him by the innocent desire to *oblige his fricnd*, and that Dr. Hind would never have dared to oppress him unless he had been encouraged by the insolent expectation of finding a secure refuge in the sanctuary *of his patron's favour*. (p. 36.)

Martin afterwards resorted to satire and vulgar abuse of his rector, and published "Ecclesiastical Gallantry; or, the Mystery Unravelled. A Tale. Dedicated to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, without permission. Printed by the Author. With a Frontispiece, 4to. 2*s*. Bew." The dedication is a masterpiece of effrontery, and the whole full of grossness and indecency. *Gent. Mag.*, Jan. 1779, p. 36, and also for 1785, pt. i. p. 146, where it is stated that the court of delegates decreed in this unhappy case of libel promoted by Dr. Hind against Mr. Martin in 1776, that all the charges, except defiance, were decreed by the Ecclesiastical Court to be void of foundation or proof. And yet Dr. Wynne, judge of the Consistory Court, pronounced in 1779 that Martin ought to be removed from the curacy and condemned him in the costs, which in that court alone amounted to 400*l*. From this sentence Martin afterwards appealed, and being heard personally, for he pleaded his own cause, in December, 1781, before Dr. Calvert, judge of the Arches Court, the sentence of the Consistory Court was confirmed and the costs nearly doubled by the

appeal. The last resort was to the delegates, and the hearing came on January 31st. The final decree was then given, when the judge delegate pronounced for the appeal and annulled the sentence of the Ecclesiastical Courts, by which, as Mr. Martin said, he was "delivered from a persecution as cruel, unjust, and oppressive, as ever came before a court."

Dr. Hind found that the parishioners of St. Anne's co-operated and sympathised with the curate, although his temper, spirit, and manners towards his rector were equally objectionable, and it is clear that the inhabitants supported Martin because there was a bad understanding and little intercourse between them and the rector. When Dr. Hind found that his curate was a favourite, and that "all the people were as mad as he," it would have been well had he kept his temper, subdued his heart burnings, and spared litigation. There was much bad judgment, and, at least, a failure in ministerial *example*. But this was not the only unseemly contention which Dr. Hind had with a brother clergyman, "brother going to law with brother," and pastors of the same flock found, like wolves, "biting and devouring one another." When the Doctor became rector of St. Anne's, he found the Rev. Dr. Jackson, the clerk in orders, and curate of the late rector. Dr. Hind demanded the services of the clerk in orders *as a right*, but being resisted, the question was moved into the Exchequer Court, and the rector not establishing his claim to the services of the clerk in orders (which office was similar to an incumbency) as his curate, he was cast in the costs of the suit.

Worn out by these relentless, long continued, and repeated contests with his curates, Dr. Hind was induced to resign the living of St. Anne's for the vicarage of Rochdale, to which he was collated by Archbishop Cornwallis on the 6th day of June, 1778,* and in the same year he vacated the rectory of Shering,

* Frederick, Archbishop of Canterbury, sent his nomination of Richard Hind, clerk, D.D., to Beilby, Bishop of Chester, dated Lambeth House, 22nd June, 1778, in the tenth year of the Primate's translation. Dr. Hind was instituted to the vicarage 6th July, 1778, by the Rev. Dr. Vyse, rector of Lambeth. (*Inst. Bk. Castr.*)

on being presented, by Christ Church, Oxford, to the vicarage of Skipton, in Yorkshire, which had become void by the death of the Rev. John Parry, M.A., and he immediately obtained a dispensation to enable him to hold the two northern benefices. On the 24th February, 1772, he had been collated by the Bishop of London to the prebend of Broomsbury in St. Paul's cathedral (Le Neve, Hardy, vol. ii. p. 366), all of which preferments he held at the time of his death. The scandal of pluralities was an abuse which required redressing, but Martin does not appear to have attacked it, nor, indeed to have expressed any dissatisfaction with his share of the Church's goods, and if he found that he was "passing rich with forty pounds a year," it was certainly but a small part of the 1,000*l.* a year received by Dr. Hind.

We can, however, find little to commend, and much to condemn, in the bold clergyman who dared to overstep all the bounds of decency, and address "An Epistle from the Rector of St. Anne's, Westminster, to the Vicar of Rochdale; Dedicated without Permission to the Lord Bishop of London: printed for the Author, Bew. 4to, 1779, 2*s.*, pp. 45."

It may be named that Bishop Lowth had appointed Dr. Robert Richardson* chaplain to the King and prebendary of Lincoln, who had resided many years at the Hague as chaplain to Sir Joseph Yorke, as Dr. Hind's successor at St. Anne's and the new rector immediately relieved Mr. Martin of his duties as curate. This step led to the publication of the insulting letter here referred to, in which Bishop Lowth, Dr. Hind, and Dr. Richardson are alike calumniated, maligned, and aspersed. It may safely be inferred that, after what had passed in the parish of St. Anne, the Bishop considered that its spiritual interests would be better promoted by Dr. Richardson than by the liti-

* He was the second son of the learned Dr. William Richardson, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and editor of Godwin "De Præsulibus." Dr. Robert Richardson was a Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, and *ob.* 27th September, 1781, *æt.* 50. St. Anne's was worth 550*l.* per annum.

gious curate. On this account the letter contemptuously refers to Lowth's controversy with Warburton as an "assault of the former," and as "a military manœuvre in pursuit of ecclesiastical preferment," and impeaches the veracity, the humanity, and piety, of the learned and amiable Bishop of London. He charges Dr. Hind with levity and licentiousness, and employs the most scurrilous epithets in his poetic satire against those whom he terms "the dignified tyrants of the Church." It is certain that he regarded Dr. Hind as a very different person from the Hind introduced by Dryden as holding converse on the Nicene fathers with the Panther, nor did he advise the parishioners of St. Anne's to "rest their faith on a Pope and Council." *

Dr. Hind's antecedents were well known at Rochdale, and were not forgotten at least after the lapse of five and thirty years from his decease. I have met with many of his old parishioners who related anecdotes of him, and some of his more intimate acquaintance, and the general impression which he had left behind him was not favourable, although Martin's characteristics and his heinous charges were considered to be the offspring of prejudice and dislike, and to be both significant and suggestive as regarded himself. Amongst his first acts was an attempt to

* In the scurrilous and infamous "Epistle" Hind's new parish of Rochdale is regarded by his London correspondent as a "banishment."

LIII.

Your banishment, too,
With horror I view,
As felons the gallows behold;
And read in your fate,
What may soon or late
Of more than one rector be told.

LIV.

I tremble and quake,
Lest I should partake,
The torments inflicted on you;
Be driven from hence,
And void of defence,
Be censured by good men and true.—(p. 41.)

*compel** the incumbents of the various chapels in the parish to close their places of worship on certain high festivals, and to resort to the mother church to assist in the administration of the Holy Eucharist; this was an assumption of vicarial authority not relished by the curates. The following letter was sent to the minister of Littleborough, but, I believe, was disregarded, whilst Milnrow was found to be more obsequious:—

Reverend Sir.—I have been informed by Mr. Holland that you object to attend at the parish church on Christmas-day with Mr. Haigh; but I take the liberty of informing you that according to the old custom the six curates of the chapels are bound to attend on their days, and the curates of Littleborough and Milnrow are required to attend on the festival days of *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Whitsunday* to assist the vicar and his curate in the administration of the Holy Eucharist, and other duties: and I hereby command you to fulfil the duty, which custom, equivalent to law, imposes upon you. I remain, Rev. Sir, your humble servant,

Rochdale, Dec. 14, 1779. RICHARD HIND.

(Milnrow *Parson's Book*, p. 227.)

Tho. Ferrand of the Wood, Esq., knew Dr. Hind personally and old Mr. Ferrand, the attorney, *father* of my informant,† occasionally was employed by him. The Doctor was dignified, reserved and very aristocratic. He was a good preacher, and the church was well attended in his time. He was a loyal defender of his country, and died just before the breaking out of the French revolution. There were many *whigs* in Rochdale, and politics ran high, but he was always true to his colours. Colonel Townley was very violent, and the Hopwoods and Hortons were strong party men, but Dr. Hind associated with them. It is not true that he shirked asking the curates to dinner on the quarter days. They used to dine at the vicarage, and the churchwardens as well. Their congregations did not complain when the chapels were closed, but were glad of a holiday! The custom continued down to the death of Dr. Drake, and had the good effect of fostering a kindly feeling between the vicar and the churchwardens, and I think the disuse is to be regretted. He was the very man to "command" Haigh and Shuttleworth to attend the sacrament days, and as they had no communions at their own Chapels it was very proper that they, and their communicants, should go to the old church. Mr. Bellas had a high opinion of Dr. Hind, and used to say he had been badly used by his London curate.

* Martin stated that it was contended by Dr. Hind that curates were in the same predicament with footmen, and equally subject to be dismissed at the will of their masters. He added, "The illiberality of Dr. Hind was universally reprobated, which, added to the mortification of disappointed malice, occasioned his retirement to Rochdale." Such indiscriminating severity is harmless.

† [This note is dated by Mr. Raines, Jan. 3, 1835.]

The Doctor was generally accused, there can be little doubt most falsely, of immorality, and the London rector is introduced saying to his brother of Rochdale :—

Your *amorous* feats,
Your *pious* exploits,
The *Scoffers* in doggrell abuse ;
The trumpet of fame,
Hath sounded your name,
As taught by the ludicrous muse.

and the scoffing author of the "epistle" refers to his own publication, entitled "Ecclesiastical Gallantry, or the Mystery Unravelled." This pamphlet I have not seen, but Dr. Holme, of Manchester, informed me that *Martin* was said to be Dr. Hind's *natural* son. That such was the popular opinion — although not a particle of evidence of the specific charge has occurred to me — seems to be contained in the libellous and vulgar, although clever, satire of the relentless Rev. Thomas Seddon, M.A., afterwards a beneficed clergyman of the parish of Rochdale. It is in the "Characteristic Strictures, or Remarks on upwards of One Hundred Portraits of the most eminent persons in the counties of Lancaster and Chester, now supposed to be on Exhibition" (4to. Manchester, 1779), that the vicar of Rochdale's picture represents "A Scene in the Citizen."

"An old piece which has undergone corrections that will maintain the reputation of the painter above the detraction of the most malignant censurer, notwithstanding he departs in his revisal from the author's scandalous fabrication. The libidinous and profligate appearance of young Philpot is answerable to his dangerous and abandoned disposition ; but the old gentleman, contrary to the farcical representation, is portrayed in colours of virtue and modesty, and shows a sorrowful abhorrence of the wicked course in which he has detected *his son*, and though conscientiously obliged to disinherit him, seems unwilling to expose his actions, which the young man turns to his own account, being fully determined to represent the virtuous *father* in the most unfavourable light he can possibly invent."

It was currently reported, to the prejudice of Dr. Hind, that the incumbents declined attending at the parish church on the days mentioned, owing to the vicar's want of hospitality, and that he wished them to dine, not at the vicarage, but at the Roe Buck Inn. This story is not borne out by the Doctor's own statement in the terrier of the church, dated 28th October, 1783. He there records "There is no custom established to the expense or charge of the vicar by distribution, entertainment, or otherwise, except that he gives a dinner on each of the six quarter days, viz., on the first Sunday in January, Palm Sunday, Easter Sunday, Whit Sunday, the first Sunday in October, and Christmas Day, to the curates of the several chapels who attend the mother church on those days to assist at the sacrament, and to the four churchwardens of the townships on Whit Sunday. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 232; see also Raines's *Hist. Lanc. Chantries*, introd. p. ix., note.)

[This terrier I have thought worth printing in full (H. H. H.):—

A Terrier of all the Glebe Lands Houses Revenues and other Rights belonging to the Vicarage of Rochdale in the County Palatine of Lancaster and Diocese of Chester whereof Richard Hind Doctor in Divinity is Vicar for the time being, made by the Commaund of the Right Reverend Father in God, Beilby by Divine permission Bishop of Chester the Twenty Eighth day of October in the year one thousand seven hundred eighty and three.

1. *A Vicarage House* built of brick covered with slates in perfectly good repair and containing four Rooms and a Vestibule on the first floor, two of the rooms wainscotted and two Papered, all ceiled and all Floored with Deal and on the second Floor four Chambers and a lighted closet, of which Chambers two are wainscotted the other two and the closet Papered, all of them Ceiled and all Floored with Deal. There are in the Uppermost Story four garrets Ceiled and Floored with Deal. The offices consisting of a Kitchen, Laundary, Two Meat Pantries, a Dairy, a Wine and small Beer Cellar, a Butler's Pantry, a Thoroughfare room adjoining to the Kitchen and a large Loan-to or Washouse at the West end of the House and running the whole depth of it, are all of them underground in Front but level with a Terras in the Back or North Front of the House. In connection with the Loan-to is a low Building divided into two parts, one of which is a Brew House, with an Ale Cellar under it, and the other a Lime house. The outhouses consisting of a Barn, three Stables, and one Shippon are all contained within one range of Building situated on the South west of the Vicarage House forty seven yards long, seven yards wide at the South end and at the North end six yards built almost entirely with Brick, covered with Slate and in good repair.

2. *The Glebe* consists of a large Tract of Land running to a great length from East to West, and entirely surrounding the Vicarage House. It contains in the whole ab[t] one Hundred and Thirty Four Lancashire Acres, divided for the most part into small Fields, chiefly Meadow and Pasture. It is bounded on the North in part by the river Roche and the other part by a Parcel of Meadow-ground called the Round Holme formerly the Inheritance of Samuel Powell Merchant deceased and now the Inheritance or in the possession of Benjamin Smith, merchant, and another close or parcel of meadow ground called the Long Holme of or belonging to Richard Townley Esquire except two closes of Meadow Ground one called the fifth Roads and the other the Little Field and also a small plot of ground called the Clod and also another Meadow called the Diehouse Holme, all lying on the northerly side of the said River. On the west in part by the said Roch and another River called the Spoden, other part by certain parcels of Lands commonly called the Bridge field and the Wash Meadow the Inheritance of Edmund Lodge Esquire, other part by a certaine close or field called the Eyes the Inheritance of Messieurs George and James Walmesley, Merchants, other part by a close or parcel of meadow ground called the Prewing meadow the Inheritance of Simon Dearden, Gentleman, other part by a certain Tenement called the Castle hill the Inheritance of the Right Honourable Lord Byron, and the residue by the highway leading from a certaine Place called the Tole yates towards Oldham. On the south in part by the Highway leading from the said Toll yates towards Manchester other part by certain parcels of Land called the two Whitley Meadows and the two Pit Fields the Inheritance of Adam Whitworth of Sparth Merchant and the residue by other Parcels of Land called the Little Meadow and the Rough the inheritance of Richard Gore Merchant, and on the East by certain Parcels of Land parcel of a Tenement called Newbold Lane the Inheritance of Samuel Hallows Hamer Esquire, the ffifth Roads now occupied by Thomas Smith Merchant, and lies at the Eastern Extremity of the said Glebe Lands and is bounded on the Southerly side by the said River Roach, on the Easterly side in part by the said River and the other part by a certain close or parcel of Land commonly called the Waterfield the Inheritance of James Bradshaw of Darcey Lever Esquire, on the Northerly side by a certain parcel of Meadow ground commonly called the Townhead Great Meadow the Inheritance of Robert Entwistle of ffoxholes Esquire, and on the West by a certain parcel of Meadow ground commonly called the ffourth Roads the Inheritance of the said Thomas Smith. The small plot of Ground called the Clod is in the possession of the said Thos. Smith and is bounded on the Southerly side by the said River Roch and on all other parts or sides by a certain close or parcel of Meadow ground commonly called the Second Roads the Inheritance of Godfrey Vaughan of the Kingdom of Ireland, and to the Southerly side of the said plot of Ground is affixed one end of a Weir lately erected and made across the said River Roch for the purpose of diverting the water flowing in the said River to certain Fulling Mills lately erected upon other parts of the said Glebe and now in the possession of the said Thomas Smith. The Diehouse Holme is occupied by John Hamer Gentleman, along with other part of the Glebe called the Wood and is bounded on the Southerly and Westerly sides by the said river Roch, on the Easterly side by a certain Tenement called the Orchard, the inheritance of the

said Simon Dearden, and on the Northerly side by a certain parcel of meadow ground commonly called the Town Mill Meadow the Inheritance of Charles Holland. On this Glebe stands all that part of the Town of Rochdale that is south of the River, containing about Two Hundred Houses and Cottages almost all of which together with the greatest part of the Glebe Lands are let out upon Leases of ninety nine years under an Act of Parliament procured for that purpose in one Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty Four. There is belonging to the Vicarage a spacious court yard in Front and an extensive Garden on the North Side of it both of which contain in the whole about one Lancashire Acre and a Quarter bounded on the East by the Church Yard Wall and Lealands Brow and fenced in every other part by a hedge of Quick or Holly. There are no timber trees in the Churchyard or upon any part of the Glebe.

3. THERE are no Tythes whatsoever due to the Vicar, all both great and small belong to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being.

4. A PENSION of fourteen pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence is paid yearly out of the Tythes to the Vicar by the Archbishop or his Lessee. Another of Three pounds six shillings and eight pence to the curate of Milnrow and another of seven pounds to the curate of Saddleworth. There is also a stipend or pension of fifteen pounds per annum payable quarterly by the Archbishop or his Lessee to the schoolmaster of the Free Grammar School of Rochdale founded by Archbishop Parker, and of two pounds per ann. payable in like manner to his Usher. The said school is also endowed with part of the Rent of an estate called the Newfield Head situated in the Township of Butterworth within the Parish of Rochdale which now lets for twelve pounds and eight shillings per ann. five elevenths parts of which are payable to the Master, and with three pounds per annum from Ardsley in Yorkshire, with two pounds per annum payable also to the Master [by John Chadwick of Healey Hall, Esq.]* issuing out of certain lands and tenements within the said Parish of Rochdale and with one pound per annum charged upon an estate of the said Richard Townley issuing out of certain lands and tenements at *Ridings* within the said Parish of Rochdale, but which hath not been paid for the last twenty seven years and payment thereof is now refused.† There is not any Pension payable out of the Vicarage nor Stipend as allowance to the Curate of any of the seven chapels in the said Parish of Rochdale, to six of which the Curate is appointed by the Vicar and to the seventh by James Starkey of Heywood Hall Esquire and Joseph Starkey his cousin. There is no custom established to the expence or charge of the Vicar by Distribution, Entertainment or otherwise except that he gives a dinner on each of the six Quarter-days (viz. on the first Sunday in January, Palm Sunday, Easter Sunday, Whit Sunday, the first Sunday in October and Christmas Day) to the Curates of the several Chapels who attend the Mother Church on those days to assist at the Sacrament, and to the four Churchwardens of the Townships of Rochdale on Whit Sunday. The above

* These words in brackets were added to the original by old Colonel Chadwick.

† Mr. Raines says nothing is said of the scholarship founded by Dr. Sam Radcliffe in 1647.

mentioned ffree Grammar School is repaired at the expence of the said Parish of Rochdale by the Church Wardens for the time being.

5. *The Curates* of the several Chapels have several of them Lands purchased by the Queen's Bounty, of which it belongs to them to give an account.

6. THERE are six bells in the Tower and a Clock and an Organ in the Church. The Communion plate consists of three Flagons, five cups or chalices two Patines and one large dish all of them silver. On two of the Flagons is engraven under the arms, "*Ex dono Alexandri Butterworth Armigeri*," and on the bottom of one are the figures 63 . 7 and of the other 63 . 3. On the third Flagon is engraved, "*The Gift of Thomas Wray D.D Vicar of this Parish*, 1773," one of the cups is marked on the bottom $\frac{M}{H}\ \frac{}{B}$ and another $\frac{R}{M}\ \frac{B}{H}$ on the third is engraved the word *Church*. There is no mark on the two others. One of the two Patines is engraven "*Ex dono Tho. Holden Filii Ric Holden in usum Ecclesiae Rochdaliensis* 1696," and on the other "*Ex dono Sare Holden ffiliae Richd Holden in usum Ecclesiae Rochdaliensis* 1702." On the bottom of the dish is engraven "*The Gift of Miss Sarah Chadwick of Chadwick to the Parish Church of Rochdale who died August* 21, 1722."

7. THERE are no Lands or Money in Stock for the repair of the Church.

8. THE PARISH is charged with the repair of the Church and the Church yard fence and the Archbishop or his lessee of the Tithes with the repair of the Chancel. Within the Church and on the south side of the Chancel is a chapel called Trinity Chapel, which is the private property of the said Richard Townley and is repaired by him.

9. The Clerk's, sexton's, and organist's wages are fixed by an act of Vestry and paid by the Parish. The two former are appointed by the Vicar and the organist by the Parishioners paying Parochial rates.

In Testimony to the truth of the before mentioned particulars and of every of them we the Vicar Churchwardens and principal Inhabitants of the Parish of Rochdale aforesaid have set our hands the said twenty eighth day of October, in the said year of our Lord one Thousand seven hundred and eighty three.

R. HIND, Vicar.

THOMAS CLEGG,
JAMES TAYLOR,
JOHN HOLT, junr,
JOHN his X mark TAYLOR,
} Churchwardens.

JOHN CHADWICK,
JOHN ROYDS,
ROBT. LEECH,
JOHN GORELL,
ADAM WHITWORTH,
JON. HAMER,
GEORGE WALMSLEY,
JOHN WALMSLEY,
THOMAS SMITH,
JAMES HAMER,
THOS. WOOD,
JAMES HOLLAND,
JOHN VAVASOUR,
ROBERT ENTWISTLE,
ROBERT TAYLOR, *Parish Clerk.*]

On the 20th September, 1787, Dr. Hind was present at the consecration of Dobcross chapel, in the Yorkshire part of his parish, and at the request of Bishop Porteus preached the consecration

sermon. There was some unfortunate misunderstanding between him and the founders of the new chapel, and he acted contrary to their expressed wish, which they had concluded, too hastily, would be regarded, in reserving to them the patronage "for sixty years if he so long lived"—being at that time more than 70. In three years afterwards he had passed away, and the subscribers found that their interest in the nomination of an incumbent had passed from them, although they had stipulated to exercise the right for sixty years, unconditionally. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xv. pp. 45–47.)

On the 15th August, 1788, he was present when Bishop Cleaver consecrated St. Anne's chapel, Lydgate, but the mistake committed by the friends of the church at Dobcross was, in this case, avoided. Through the liberality of Dr. Hind the churchwardens of Rochdale were assisted, in the year 1789, in purchasing of John Barnish the musical clock formerly in the tower of the church, against the general feeling of the parishioners, who predicted that it would entail a perpetual expense upon the parish, as the mechanism would be continually out of repair. The works were said to be as good in 1858 as they were when first made, after all the neglect they had experienced. Dr. Hind and his family fixed the musical tunes or chimes, and no old Matthew, like Wordsworth's friend, has arisen

> To sing those witty rhymes
> About the crazy old church clock,
> And their bewildered chimes.

[In regard to these chimes I find it further stated that on the 12th of July, 1787 a set of chimes were ordered, and on the 13th of April, 1789 a clock and chimes having been made by John Barnish of Rochdale, the charge for the same, which was £193, exceeded the sum stipulated for. The Parish, however, voted John Barnish the difference, and ordered him twenty guineas as a compliment for the great merit and ingenuity displayed in constructing the machinery of the chimes. On the 6th of October, 1789, a guinea was ordered to be added to the sex-

ton's wages for winding up the chimes, but this was taken off on the 29th of November following, and four guineas per annum were ordered to Mr. John Barnish for his care of the clock and chimes. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vols. i. p. 178, and xv. p. 183.)]

In 1789, Dr. Hind, the Rev. Geoffrey Hornby, and other clergymen and laymen, were associated with Lord Grey de Wilton in establishing the Lancaster Humane Society for restoring suspended animation, and Dr. Hind was a vice-president of the society. (*Gent. Mag.*, vol. ii., 1790, p. 600.) In 1774 Dr. Lettsom, Dr. Harvey, and a few others, had founded the London Humane Society, although more than twenty years before Dr. Fothergill had unsuccessfully addressed the Royal Society on the same subject.

Dr. Hind published three detached sermons, all of which are very scarce: —

1. The Abuse of Miraculous Powers in the Church of Corinth Considered. A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, at Christ Church, on Sunday, February 2, 1755. Published at the request of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses. Text: *I. Cor.*, xiv. 23. Oxford, 1755, 4to, pp. 26.
2. A Sermon preached before the sons of the Clergy in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, on Thursday the 10th of May, 1764, to which is annexed a List of the Annual Amount of the Collection for this Charity from the year 1721. Dedicated to the Earl of Northumberland, the Bishop of Lincoln, and the other Stewards of the late Feast of the Sons of the Clergy, at whose request the Sermon was preached and published. Text: *Rom.* xiv. 16. (Whitaker says, *Rom.* xv. 16?) London, 1764, 4to, pp. 20. Collected, 1,008*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.*
3. A Sermon preached before the honourable House of Commons at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on Wednesday January xxx. M.DCC.LXV., for which he received the thanks of the House, and was requested to publish the

same. Text: *II. Cor.* iii. 17, latter part. London, 1765. pp. 20, 4to.

Dr. Thomas Dunham Whitaker observes of the two first Sermons, that they are excellently written, and would want no advantage of person, deportment or elocution in the delivery (*Hist. Whalley*, vol. ii. p. 431–32), and yet Dr. Hind was a handsome looking man, elegant in his deportment, and distinguished as an orator.

In the first sermon there is considerable skill and knowledge of the subject, brought against sceptics who had objected to the *abuse* of miraculous powers in the early Church. Dr. Hind presented his arguments so forcibly and lucidly that the intellectual student of the Bible would find them to be unanswerable, and that the preacher knew well how to combat the latitudinarianism of his time, although the age was not theological.

The second sermon is in a more popular style and some parts of it are well calculated to affect the heart. The opening pages might have been specially written for the admonition and rebuke of the curate and parishioners of St. Anne's, Westminster, although at the time Dr. Hind was unconnected with either.

The third sermon is probably the best of the three, and in every respect seems to have been appropriate to a special and limited audience.

In none of these able sermons do we discover that the preacher regarded the Church as 'a vineyard on a fruitful hill,' and her prosperity and influence subjects of congratulation. Her poverty and spiritual thraldom were not overlooked, and there was no exuberant melody and joy set forth in her courts, if the harp of her son was not hung upon the willows. Erastianism and pluralities were consuming the Church, and rectories, vicarages, and canonries were monopolized by her advocates, and accumulated by her ostentatious friends, whilst "we have Abraham to our father" was too generally the reliance and the boast of divines like Dr. Hind. Alas! how little did they regard "the noble works which God did for his Church in the days of our fathers, and in

the old time before them," and how soon had they forgotten, in their temporal prosperity, that we gat not those things in possession through our own sword, nor was it our own arm that helped us.

At Rochdale Dr. Hind took little of the occasional duty of the church or parish, which was devolved upon his curate, the Rev. Thomas Bellas, M.A. This gentleman had obtained from Lord North, in 1775, the rectory of Holdenby in Northants, his lordship being at that time Chancellor of Oxford, and generally advancing men of that University. With this valuable crown living, Mr. Bellas, who had been Dr. Wray's curate, held the curacy of Rochdale, and received as his stipend the surplice fees, which [in an Episcopal Return are put down] as "amounting to fifty pounds a year and upwards." With Mr. Bellas, a man of amiable temper and easy manners, Dr. Hind and his family always maintained the best understanding, the curate being more popular and influential in the parish than many of his superiors in the Church. Nor did he ever regard Dr. Hind as "a malicious and gloomy tyrant, whose obstinate malignity had given ample reason to every rank of the clergy to execrate his name." (*Epistle to the Vic. of Rochdale*, dedication, p. xiii.) The Rev. Thomas Lowe, his great grandson, informs me that "there is said to have been some severity in the Doctor's character," but he was always just and impartial.

There was much dignity of manner in Dr. Hind, and he required and generally secured the deference of his parishioners. He had intercourse of a social kind with a few only of the leading families in the parish, and was censured for not extending his friendship to individuals who were known at that time to be realizing fortunes, but who were not considered by him to be sufficiently educated or refined to be admitted within his domestic circle. He had forgotten that our Saxon ancestors ranked the prosperous merchant above the scholar and made him of equal rank with the Thane, but it must be admitted that the commerce of "the dark ages" was different from that of the last century, where it is certain that in Rochdale, at least, the terms *merchant*

and *gentleman* were not synonymous. The vicarage was always the scene of great decorum and elegant hospitality, and the conversation was of the most refined description.*

Dr. Hind is remembered as having had a close carriage and livery servants, and Mrs. Hind and her daughter were exemplary in every relation of life. Many were the obscure and uncomplaining families they relieved, employed and instructed, and whilst the idle and mischievous found no friends at the vicarage, sober, patient, and frugal industry always met with encouragement.

Dr. Hind's liberality, it is said, was confined to the immediate claims upon his benevolence, and the parish in which he ministered during twelve years can supply only one record of his liberality.

He raised the tone of morals, whatever his censorious curate might say to the contrary, at a period of general corruption, and by his blameless example, no less than by his instruction, civilized and humanized his neighbours and inculcated loyalty and charity. It has, however, been truly observed that his parishioners were more disposed to admire than to emulate his charity, as they built no churches or schools for the ignorant and destitute, and endowed no hospitals or infirmaries for the sick, the indigent, or the friendless.

The vicarage family always attended the public services of the church, which were regularly observed in his vicariate. Lent was one of the church seasons strictly observed by the whole family, and during the season a devotional spirit pervaded all its arrangements. Sunday also was a day regarded with strict regularity, and all the members of the household were required to attend public worship, and not permitted to absent themselves from the house on that day under any pretext. Nor would the vicar receive company or pay visits. He had apparently a salutary

* [Old Mrs. Bamford told Mrs. Raines Dr. Hind was a very high man (*i.e.* proud), but had family worship regularly in his house. . . . . His chief friend was Mr. Vavasour, who lived in the Butts. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. i. p. 254.)]

fear of temptation, and availed himself of all the safeguards of religion, to lead the easily misled to realize the importance of their present and future interests and to practice the obvious requirements of the church.

Dr. Hind had great taste in floral and horticultural pursuits, and was said to have been the first person who introduced auriculas into Rochdale. His great grandson says he was a great gardener, and left proofs of his horticultural knowledge and taste both at Shering and Rochdale.

In the church he was absolute. No one durst dispute his will, or oppose his authority — so that his parishioners must have degenerated since his time, in this respect. He used to say "My pulpit is my throne," but George Herbert had said the same long before Dr. Hind.

Mr. Hugh Oldham, the old schoolmaster of Rochdale, told me that he knew and remembered Dr. Hind well. He described him as wearing a powdered wig, shovel hat, silk stockings, and shoe buckles, being of a tall and commanding figure, florid complexion, and looked well both in the pulpit and out of it. He took a great deal of snuff, and a large deep circular tortoise shell snuff-box, mounted with silver, which he always used, being presented to him by Bishop Terrick, who was thought to be a relative, was given by Mrs. Whitham, the Doctor's housekeeper, to Mr. Oldham in 1807. How she became possessed of the relic I could not ascertain. It was shewn to me August 31st, 1833. Mr. Oldham said, the Doctor improved with age, and grew "less sour, less petulant, and less offensive to the people, in his latter years."

[The following entries in the church books during his vicariate have a certain interest: —

16th Oct., 1781. It was agreed at a meeting that the *Foot-gates* should be removed to the south side of the church yard, between the present gates and the Vicar's gates, at the end of the Hearse house, under the direction of the churchwardens, at the expence of the Vicar. Dr. Hind was present and in the chair. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xv. p. 194.)

26th June, 1783. A new sun dial was ordered for the Church Yard. Charge for the dial £4 4*s.* 6*d.* (*Ibid.* p. 189.)

29th June, 1783. Notice was given that six boys were wanted to sing chaunts and Psalm tunes to the organ during Divine service. (*Ibid.*, p. 178.)

1787. Pd to Mr. Rudall £100 for two new bells. (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 178.)]

Dr. Hind died at the vicarage, Rochdale, where he had almost constantly resided, and was buried within the communion rails of the chancel, with a plain flag stone inscribed: —

"RICHARD HIND, D.D., 12 YEARS VICAR OF THIS PARISH, DIED 18 FEBRUARY, 1790, ÆT. 75."

According to the Register Book he was buried on the 22nd of February.

He married, about the year 1752 (?), Martha, daughter of — Treacher, Esq., of Shabbington, near Thane, in the county of Oxford, who survived him, and *ob.* 29th April, 1796, at Henley-on-Thames, and by whom he had surviving issue:—

(1) John Hind, of Magdalen College, Oxford. B.A. 1771, M.A. 1780, B.D. 1789, D.D. 1797. He married a daughter of John Loveday, Esq., of Williamscote, in the county of Oxford, but died without issue. He was rector of Findon in Sussex.

(2) Martin Hind, the second son, was educated by Mr. Lawson, at the Manchester Grammar School, entered there 15th January, 1780. By his first wife he had several sons, the third of whom, Charles,* is the present head of the family, and served as major of the 45th Foot in the Caffre war of 1846-7, and is colonel on half pay. He also had two daughters. (*Manch. School Register*, vol. 2, p. 60, 1866.) Martin Hind, Esq., of Potternewton, married (2), in 1815, Sophia, daughter of the Venerable Cayley Illingworth, D.D., Archdeacon of Stow. She *ob.* a widow

* Major-General Charles Hind, writing from 18, Paragon, Bath, December 15, 1873, says "I have in my possession a curious old watch with seals appended which belonged to my grandfather, Dr. Hind, the former vicar of Rochdale. On one of the seals is the family coat of arms, viz: a chevron, three hinds trippant, &c., on steel, which belonged to his father, who was a clergyman, and who wrote a History of Greece. An uncle of mine, Dr. Hind, late vicar of Findon, in Sussex, left a library which came to me, and in many of the books I find the name written 'Hynd' and 'Hinde.' In the 'Flores Theologicarum' is the name 'Jo. Hinde, 1586.' This is all I know of my remote ancestors." (Letter to R. Hind, Esq., of Lancaster, sent to me.)

in 1843. Mr. M. Hind was a merchant, and lived and died at Potternewton or Headingly, near Leeds. Sarah Susannah, daughter of Martin Hind, Esq., married Robert Jew of Crofton Hall, Yorks., born 1798, *ob.* 1876 (Captain in the W. Y. Yeomanry Cavalry), J.P., D.L., a banker at Wakefield. She *ob.* 1866.

(3) Thomas Hind, the third son, was born 1756, of Christ Church, Oxford, B.A. 1776, M.A. 1779. He lived thirteen years in the family of George, Duke of Marlborough, as domestic chaplain, before he married. He married at Rochdale Church, 24th April 1788, Susanna, daughter of Samuel Hamer of Hamer, Esq., and of his wife Mary, sister of Sir Henry Ibbotson, Bart., of Denton Park, in the county of York. There was a painful incident said to be connected with the marriage. Owing to some unexplained cause, Mr. Hind was desirous of breaking off the engagement, which so affected the happiness of a young and beautiful girl, that her health gave way, but by the mediation of friends the marriage took place. The shock, however, was too much for her, and she never recovered her health. She gave birth to a daughter, born on the 3rd September, and privately baptized at Ardley in Oxfordshire, and received into the Church at Rochdale November 24th, 1789 (*Register Book*), the mother dying at Ardley on the 4th of September, the day after her confinement. The Rectory of Ardley, near Bicester, Oxon., was given him by the Duke of Marlborough, in 1787, and shortly afterwards he was collated by the Bishop of Rochester to the rectory of Henley-on-Thames, where he chiefly resided.

He married (2) Ann, daughter of Richard Andrews, Esq., and relict of Richard Lane, Esq. Her father assumed the surname of Woodward on succeeding to the estate of Maiston Botlere, or Botler Maiston, in the county of Warwick. Mr. Lane was of Mile End, Hambleden, Bucks.

The Rev. Thomas Hind died 10th January, 1815, *æt.* 58, having been 28 years rector of Ardley. At the time of his death he was also rector of Culworth, in the county of Northants, near Banbury, a living, in private patronage, which he had held from the

year 1777; and rector of Westwell, near Burford, to which he had been presented by Christ Church, Oxford. This is an accumulation of preferment which must have satisfied the most capacious Pluralist. I do not find that Mr. Hind was an author, and it is somewhat remarkable that "his father's sermons were purposely destroyed by one of the clerical sons; but why, is unknown."

Mr. Hind left two daughters—one by each wife. Susanna, the first daughter, married the Rev. John Lowe, of Lincoln College, Oxon., B.A. 1813, M.A. 1819, and succeeded his father-in-law in the rectory of Ardley, in 1815. He has an only son—the Rev. Thomas Lowe, of Oriel College, Oxon., B.A. 1836, M.A. 1839, vicar of Willingdon, Hurst Green, Sussex, late Vice Principal of the Chichester Diocesan College, and author of some sermons, to whom I am indebted for much of the family history of his great-grandfather, Dr. Hind of Rochdale.

Ann, the second daughter, lives at Mill End, in Bucks., an estate she inherited from her mother, and is unmarried (1850.) Her mother died there 6th April, 1850, in her 90th year, having survived her husband for the long period of 35 years.

Dr. Hind, the Vicar of Rochdale, had also a daughter, Harriet Hind, who died unmarried at Exeter, in February 1815. (*Gent. Mag., eo anno.*)

1790. THOMAS DRAKE, son of George Drake of Halifax, grocer, and of his wife Phebe, daughter of Richard Wood of Southowram, and sister and ultimately heiress of Joseph Wood of Field, in the parish of Halifax, merchant, who was grandson and heir of Joseph Wood of Northowram, yeoman, was born at Halifax November 14, baptized December 4th, 1745.* (*Par. Reg.*, vol.

* [His mother was the niece of Colonel Robinson of Halifax, and, through the Robinsons, related to the Ramsdens. On the death of Colonel Robinson some property was divided between old Mrs. Drake and Mrs. Ramsden of Pike House, near Rochdale, formerly Miss Halliwell. Dr. Drake gave six of his uncle Robinson's apostle spoons to Mrs. Niblett's second son, and the other six were at Pike House, having been the Ramsdens'. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. ix. p. 239.]

viii. p. 154.) His father was the son of Mr. Robert Drake of Warley, whose father, the Rev. Matthew Drake, D.D., was collated to a prebend in York Cathedral in 1703, and was afterwards distinguished as a writer. Dr. Whitaker erroneously described the vicar of Rochdale as the great grandson of Dr. Drake "the historian." Francis Drake, the historian of York, was a surgeon, and only remotely connected with the vicar of Rochdale. (Watson's *Hist. Halifax*, p. 464; *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. ix. p. 238; vol. xxviii. p. 485.) The Doctor was brought up by his mother, who was living a widow at Hipperholme 20th Sept., 1785, and had never seen his father, as he left England almost immediately after the birth of his son (owing, it was supposed, to some political offence which he had committed), and never returned.* At an early age the fatherless boy was placed under the care of his learned relative Dr. Thomas Balguy,† and educated by him at Winchester school. In 1764 he was admitted of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he proceeded B.A. 1768, M.A. 1771, B.D. 1779, and D.D. 1784, having been elected Fellow of his College in 1769. (*Gent. Mag.*, vol. lxxxix. 2nd part, p. 378.)

In 1783 he was appointed the first domestic chaplain to Archbishop Moore, on the solicitation of Dr. Balguy, and the letter which the Archbishop addressed to Mr. Drake communicating his Grace's favourable opinion of his character and theological attainments, as well as his Grace's sincere regard for Dr. Balguy, and requesting to see Mr. Drake at Lambeth, reflected credit on all the parties concerned in the appointment.‡ Mr. Drake had

* [He was a dissipated man, and abandoned his wife soon after marriage, when she was pregnant of her only child, afterwards Dr. Drake. It was said he had been engaged in the rebellion of 1745, and so far committed himself that he escaped from his pursuers, and was never seen in England afterwards. He was supposed to have died in Ireland. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. ix. p. 239.)]

† Dr. Drake's connection with Dr. Thomas Balguy was very remote. His grandfather, Mr. Robert Drake, married Elizabeth, daughter of Christopher Broomhead of Sheffield, and Sarah, another daughter, married Dr. John Balguy, father of the Archdeacon. And yet Dr. Drake is said to have called him *his uncle*.

‡ This letter was in the possession of the Rev. Thomas Steele, incumbent of Littleboro', in 1831.

apartments assigned him in the palace, and acted as an examining as well as domestic chaplain. He was presented by his college to the rectory of Little Hormead, and on the 28th March, 1786, was collated to the rectory of Hadleigh, in the county of Suffolk, by Archbishop Moore, and inducted by Mr. Pritchett, rector of Layham, in Suffolk. On the 1st of April he was appointed by the same patron Dean of Bocking, and one of the principal registrars of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. On the 28th July, 1790, he removed to the vicarage of Rochdale.* (Mem. in Dr. Wilkins' *MS. Book*, at Hadleigh, in Dr. Drake's writing.) The Doctor, however, did not quit Hadleigh, a place which he greatly loved, notwithstanding the current belief that the rectory house was *haunted*, until late in September, his son George having been baptized there on the 22nd of that month.†

Before he settled at Lambeth he had been the private tutor of Richard, afterwards second Earl of Mount-Edgecumbe, and accompanied the young nobleman on his continental travels. He was always proud of his pupil, who in 1780 moved the address to the King as M.P. for Cornwall. He was also present at Mount-Edgecumbe in the year in which George III. and Queen Charlotte visited the Earl, and he witnessed in 1780 the marriage of his pupil with Lady Sophia Hobart, a daughter of the Earl of Buckinghamshire. This was in what he afterwards called "his young and happy days." (Rev. Tho. Steele, 1830.) It was at Lord Mount-Edgecumbe's that he met with Dr. Yate, whose relative he afterwards married.

Dr. Drake did not understand nor appreciate music, and could not distinguish sacred from secular tunes, nor could he remember the tunes or chimes played on the church clock at Rochdale

* John, Archbishop of Canterbury, sent his nomination of Thomas Drake, D.D., to William, Bishop of Chester, dated at Lambeth House, 15th July, 1790, in the eighth year of the Bishop's translation. Dr. Drake was instituted to the vicarage of Rochdale 28th July, 1790. The nomination is stated to have been sealed, delivered, and stamped with a treble 40*s.* stamp in the presence of Francis Tutle and E. W. Dickes. Not pub. (Bp. Cestr's *MS. Book.*)

† *Teste* J. D. T. Niblet, Esq., of Chipping Campden, Gloucester.

(*ibid.*), and he used to say that Lord Mount-Edgecumbe was the most accomplished performer on various instruments, and one of the first musical amateurs of the day, and that at his lordship's house he had met all the celebrated musical talent both of England and the continent. It appears that Lord Mount-Edgecumbe continued to cultivate his taste through life, as in 1828 his lordship published "Musical Reminiscences, chiefly respecting the Italian Opera in England, from 1773 to 1828. 12mo."

[Dr. Drake's arrival in Rochdale is thus recorded in a letter from Miss Eliza Ferrand to her brother in Howden. "Feb. 22, 1791. Our new vicar, Dr. Drake, and his family arrived at Brown Hill last week." (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. ix. p. 384.)

According to the Parish Books his first sermon was preached from the xvi. Psalm, 8th verse, "I have set the Lord always before me." (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. i. p. 178.)]

Shortly after settling at Rochdale he was placed in the commission of the peace for the county palatine, as well as for Cheshire and for the North Riding of the county of York. For many years the principal acting magistrates at Rochdale were Mr. Entwistle, sen., and Mr. Entwistle, jun., of Foxholes, and the vicar. On the 5th August, 1795, during a tumultuous outbreak occasioned by the scarcity of provisions in Rochdale, the Doctor had the misfortune to be called on to read the Riot Act, and to disperse the mob. A little man named *Oram*, an attorney from Bury, happened to be near the market cross, and as the soldiers were firing, a man, said to be the humane vicar (see *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. ix. p. 240), called out "*O'er 'em, o'er 'em,*" meaning that the discharge should be over the heads of the mob, which the attorney hearing and not catching its meaning, turned round, in great dismay, and shouted out, "Why should you shoot me? I've done nothing wrong," and with great precipitation he rushed away as a marked man.* Such, however, was not the fate of two old men who had not met each other for many years. Regardless

* *Teste* Mr. W. Meadowcroft, 8th August, 1855, who saw to-day one of the soldiers then employed.

of the legal terrors by which they were surrounded, they foolishly continued in conversation, and being unfortunately fired upon by the military, were killed.* This circumstance was never forgotten during Dr. Drake's vicariate, and was sometimes referred to in his presence in a manner far from agreeable to him. On one occasion, on passing over the bridge, a violent man, probably under the influence of liquor, approached the Doctor in a menacing attitude, and extending his arms called out, as he glanced at the river, "*Drakes* can swim as well as *ducks*, but they don't read *Riot Acts*," and the alarmed vicar hastily took refuge at Mr. Dearden's house, the Orchard.†

It was said that as a magistrate he was too hasty and opinionative in his decisions, and did not weigh evidence with much impartiality or discrimination. Ignorant of legal technicalities, he soon formed an opinion and pronounced a sentence, and his decisions were by no means uniform; but it was a proof of the confidence reposed in his integrity that, perhaps fortunately for him, his decisions were not appealed against, or removed to a superior court. Nor were such things, at that time, rendered public by the interference of the press, the careful guardian of "Freedom restrained by Law."‡

As a proof of the coarse and vulgar manners of some of the parishioners at the end of the last century, and the little respect they paid to rank, Mr. Elliott used to relate an anecdote for which his old master, Mr. John Hamer, was sponsor. Dr. Drake was dining at an inn in Todmorden (at that time a small village), after having officiated in the church, and the Vicar—always proud of his University education—happened to refer to Cambridge, when Mr. Hamer observed that Oxford appeared to rank higher in public estimation than Cambridge. "Well, granted," said the Doctor, "I am of both Universities." "Indeed," said the old churchwarden, who was a farmer, and spoke in a broad dialect, "Then yoan been boath loimed and marled," (both *limed*

* *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. ix. p. 240. † *Teste* Mr. Dearden. ‡ *Teste* Mr. Tho. Ferrand.

and *marled*), whilst the Doctor was non-plussed by the remark of a dry Yorkshire farmer, who with more point than courtesy, informed the company that "he once had a coaf 'at sawked two keaws, and the more it sawked, the bigger coaf it grew!"* This anecdote might seem to imply that the Doctor had taken an *ad eundem* degree at Oxford.

In 1792 or 1793, Mr. Barton Shuttleworth, a poor incumbent with a large family, died at Littleboro', and the Doctor had made a sort of half-promise that his son, the Rev. Barton Shuttleworth, jun., should have the living. Owing to the strong party politics which at that time prevailed in the parish, and the well-known Whig principles of the Shuttleworths, the Doctor hesitated to confirm his original intentions. At that juncture the young curate refused to drink a most uncharitable toast which had been proposed at a convivial meeting, and ventured to condemn both the sentiment and language. His conduct on this occasion was worthy of the highest commendation, but the leading laymen of the place were exasperated, and determined that he should not have the living, nor does it reflect much credit on the patron to have to record that he acceded to their wishes. The young man—when an old and most exemplary clergyman†—told me, that he waited upon the Doctor, and with great earnestness asked him for the poor benefice, saying he was very much like the unhappy Israelite who was left wounded and half dead. And, rather sharply asked the patron, "Am I the *Levite?*" "No, Doctor, *I* am the Levite, and I wish *you* to be the *Good Samaritan*," replied Mr. Shuttleworth; but the die was cast. The Doctor, however, would not present to the living, and it lapsed to the Bishop, whilst kind offices on Dr. Drake's part secured a place in the family of Mr. Hoare, the banker, for Mr. Shuttleworth, and having been a tutor for many years to Mr. Hoare's sons, he never quitted the family of that excellent man.

It is somewhat remarkable that Dr. Drake, who received at

* *Teste* John Elliott, Esq., Townhead, Nov. 5, 1829. † 17th July, 1833.

least £1,000 a year from the benefice from his first taking possession of it, allowed a very scanty salary to his curate. The following letter to the Bishop of Chester is at the Registry, Chester:—

"To the Right Rev. Father in God, William, Lord Bishop of Chester.

These are to certify your Lordship that I, Thomas Drake, D.D., Vicar of Rochdale, do hereby nominate and appoint the Rev. Thomas Bellas, A.M., to perform the office of a curate in my church of Rochdale, and to allow him yearly the sum of 34*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* and the surplice fees for his maintenance, humbly beseeching your lordship to grant him your licence to serve the said cure. Dated 25th July, 1791."*

Dr. Drake's appointment of his kinsman, the Rev. Charles Zouch, to the incumbency of Saddleworth, in 1792, must always be mentioned with regret. The mental imbecility of Mr.

* Dr. Drake found Mr. Bellas at Rochdale, where he had been curate from the year 1770, having quitted the curacy of Stockport in that year. No clergyman in the diocese was more popular, although from former vicars he only received the surplice fees as his stipend, which led him into various irregularities, and led him also to depend upon the *public* rather than the *Church* for his maintenance. He was a surrogate, and his accounts, not at Chester but with the Commissioners of Stamps, proved defective, and he left Rochdale in 1805, never to return. He said the prayers in a most solemn and impressive manner, and it was said to be a mooted question whether he excelled most in the desk or pulpit, although when out of both he ought never to have entered either. He was a lax Churchman and careless of discipline, free and easy in his manner, a *bon vivant* in his habits, and at that day very acceptable to all classes in Rochdale, being especially intimate with Colonel Townley, of Belfield Hall, and the family of Holte, of Lower Place. He was the rector of Holdenby in Northants, where he never resided, and was a man of respectable family. He was twice married, his second wife, a very worthy woman, was his cousin, and probably aware of her husband's defalcations, died, *propriâ manu*, at Church Cottage, where he lived, and owned the property. They had two daughters, "the handsomest women in Rochdale," viz., Hannah, baptised 25th November, 1784, born 13th; and Margaret, born 26th May, and baptised at Rochdale, June 25th, 1783, and married there in March, 1810, to Robert Blackburn, Esq., a Portuguese merchant. Dr. Drake performed the marriage service, and two of his daughters were her bridesmaids, whilst her "best friend" was the Rev. Dr. Monkhouse, vicar of Wakefield. (See *Lanc. MSS.* vol. i. p. 72.)

Mr. Bellas had a cousin, the Rev. Lancelot Bellas, M.A., incumbent of Friarmere, and afterwards of Marsden, in the county of York, who was thought to be the father of the Rev. Lancelot Bellas, presented by Queen's College, Oxon., January, 1833, to the rectory of Bramshot, Hants. The family was from Appleby, or the neighbourhood.

Zouch was clearly known to his learned uncles, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Zouch and Mr. Henry Zouch, and Dr. Drake ought not to have bestowed patronage which he held for the benefit of the church upon a relative who was notoriously unfit for it.*

His appointments to the livings in his gifts, in right of his vicarage, were not generally very successful, but the poverty of the curacies probably prevented better men being found. The Doctor is remembered to have said to the Rev. James Buckley of Dobcross, whose wife and daughters were dressmakers, "Sir, your house is like a *Bee-hive*." "Yes, Doctor," said the subdued incumbent, "but there are *Wasps* in it;" probably a sly hint that his domestic happiness was not complete.†

In 1798 Dr. Drake was elected a trustee of the Bury Grammar School, frequently attended its anniversaries, and continued to take an interest in its success until his death. The compliment does not appear to have been paid to his successors, nor probably to his predecessors. In the same year he and the Rev. Thomas Bancroft, vicar of Bolton, were appointed commissioners for the redemption of the land tax in the county of Lancaster.

Soon after this an animated discussion arose in the parish about the rights to certain seats in the chancel, and as the proceedings are of permanent interest, and throw some light on the history of the church, I am tempted to give an account of them at some length.

Case for the opinion of *Dr. Croke* respecting the yeomanry seats in the chancel of the Parish Church of Rochdale.

From the orig'l case of opinion pair'd by Mr. John Elliott, Sol'r of Rochdale.

The Par. Ch. of Rochdale is a very antient structure being built prior to the Reform^n. The living consists of a Rectory or Parsonage and Vicarage both belonging to the See of Canterbury. The Vicarage consists of houses and lands and is a very valuable one. The Rectory is a sinecure and for upwards of 120 years, prior to about the year 1760 was in the hands of the family of Lord Byron as lessees under the Abp. of Cant^y at a certain yearly reserved Rent. About

* See Saddleworth Incumbency and *Gent. Mag.* p. 84, January, 1816. [See also Dr. Drake's letters to Charles Zouch, *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. v. p. 184, *et seq.*; vol. xxxiv. p. 119, *et seq.*]

† *Teste* Mrs. Barns of Milnrow, Sep. 3, 1842.

the year 1760 the residue of the late Lord Byron's term came into the hands of Thos. Parry Esq. of Lambeth, who afts. ab[t] the y[r] 1765 took a fresh lease for 21 years from the then Abp. Mr. Parry afterwards sold his interest in his term of 21 years to Mess[rs] Walmsleys and they surrendered the term to the Abp. and took a fresh lease for 21 years which has very lately expired; and we are not certain whether the Abp. has or has not granted a new lease to any o[r] person. We have an extract of the lease to Mr. Parry, which it may be necess[y] to state in order to show the matters and things demised w[ch] are as follows. The Abp. demises all his Rectory and Parsonage of Rochdale with the Glebe lands Tenths Tithes of corn and Hay Oblations Obventions Priory Tithes and all other Tithes profits commod[s] and emol[s] what[r] they be to the s[d] Rectory belong[g] or app[g] (the Patronage of y[e] Church excepted) to hold for 21 y'rs under the yearly rent of 80*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.* to the Abp. and also paying to the schoolmaster of R. 15*l.* per ann. to the Usher 2*l.* p[r] ann. to the vicar 8*l.* the herbage of the churchyard also 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* new augmented stipend; To the Curate of Saddleworth 5*l.* and the herbage of the Chapel yard of Saddleworth and the further stipend of 2*l.* To the Curate of Butterworth 2*l.* and the herbage of the Chapel y[d] and the further stipend of 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* The Vicar of Rochdale Ch. to have all the Church Duties of Marriages, Christenings, and Burials to his own use. The lessee to repair as well the Housing and Buildings in and upon the said Rectory and Parsonage as well also *the Chancel of the s'd Rectory and Parish Church.*

At the time of the Reformation and prob[y] many years before that period it is presumed that the Chancel of the church was completely open and without any seat in it (save benches) agreeably to the custom of Catholic Churches and in this Chancel also it is presumed that mass was said, the Eucharist adm[d] and other rites and ceremonies of the Catholic church performed.

At some period or other but the time when we cannot ascertain (though much beyond the memory of any man living) certain seats or pews were erected in the Chancel. The accomp[g] plans will best show the situation of the Chancel and the Seats so erected and the manner in which they stood before and (since the Innovation which will be by and by ment[d]) now stand. Presumption however inclines to believe that these seats or pews were so erected in the chancel, by a Lord Byron, for on the upright pieces of timber, constit[g] part of the pews, there are various coats of arms, one in particular delineating the arms of that family in the 1[st] and 4[th] quarters of the shield and the 2[nd] and 3[rd] quarters are filled up with the arms of some other family, probably his Lady's. In another shield the family arms of the Portland Family appear on the sinister or Lady's side, and this strengthens the prob[y] of the Byrons building the seats, for Wm. 4[th] Lord Byron Baron of Rochdale (the father of the late dec[d] nobleman) had 3 wives one of whom was a d[r] of the Earl of Portland. Besides, on the seat in the Chancel ment[d] to be in poss'on of Mr. Vavasour, as shewn on the plans, the supporters of the Byron Family, and a Byron's coronet are carved. On a reference to the plan it will be seen that there are certain seats called "Yeoman-men's Seats." These seats have from time immemorial been resorted to for the purpose of hearing Divine Service (and on Parish occasions when the vestry was not sufficient to contain the persons assembled) by the gentlemen yeomen freeholders, Leypayers of the

Par. of Rochdale indiscrimy. There never were any doors to these yeoman's seats at the entrances on the Easterly ends, but at the entrance at that part of the yeoman's seats opposite to the Clergymens seats, there was an old door, though constantly unfastd and generally open. No disturbance or interruptn has ever been given or offered to any person on acct of resorting to these yeomanry seats nor has any acknowlt or sum of money ever been pd on demd by the Abp. or any of his lessees on account thereof from any person whatsor. The first Gentn in the Par. were formerly in the habit of sitting in these seats being commodiously situatd for hearg div. service and very near the Communion Table; and besides, there are in such an extensive p'ish as Rochdale a prodigious number of yeomen Freeholders and leypayers, who have no seat in the Church either as belongg to their Tenem'ts or otherwise.

In January last (1799) Mr Richd Holt Atty at law in Rochdale either as agent to the Abp. or to his Grace's Secrety and chief agent Mr. Young, or under some other colour or pretence, but we incline to believe entirely on his own head, chose to enclose the whole of these antient Yeomanry Seats and converted them to the private uses of Individls. He has not howr forgotten to appropriate one of the best (if not the very best) seat to his own family use. This enclosure on the Northerly side has been effected by reducing the seats describd in the Plan to be in ye poss'on of Messrs Walmsley of Goose Lane and of Mr. Walmsley of Castlemeer somewhat in point of depth, thereby affordg himself a seat of about equal depth with the other two, and thence extendg the whole of the 3 last mentd pews quite across the Yeomanry seats, which makes an end of those seats on these Northerly side of the *Isle*, the whole thereof being in such manner added to or included in these 3 seats. Mr. Holt has pursd the same plan of enclosure and extension on the Southerly side thereby increasing the depth of the Clergyman's Seat, The Vicarage Seat, Bernard Butterworth's seat, and Holland's seat in proportion to their origl breadth. These alteratns and innovatns were carried into executn *sword in hand*, without any apology for so doing.

This proceedg roused the indignn of the Parish, and the Chw'd'ns accordingly advertized (by Hand Bills) a Meetg to be holden at the Vestry of the Church wch was held accordingly, but as *the Clergy and Leypayers of ye P'sh* were omittd to be mentd in the Notice along with the *Gent'n Yeomen and Freeholders* the Meeting thought it best to call a fresh one and a handbill was circuld and read in the Church and Chapels within the P'sh callg a meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, Yeomen, Freeholders, and Leypayers of the Parish, of which latter advertisement the follg is a copy.

"The Gentg Clergy, Yeomen Freeholders and Leypayers of and within the Par. of Rochde are desired to meet the ch'd'ns of the sd Par. in the Par. Church of R. on Friday the 1st Febr. next at 2 o'clock in the afternoon in order to take the sense of the said Gentn Clergy, Freehs and Leyps respecting the Seats called Yeoman's Seats in the sd Church whether they are to be left open as usual from time immemorial for the sittings of the sd yeomanry, or converted to the use of any private indivl or indivls. And likewise to consider of the propriety of prosecutg or defendg any action suit or prosecutn that shall or may be brought, sued or prosecuted agt any person or persons in conseqe of any resolutn or resolutns that shall or may be made or entered into at that Meeting. Signed — Abraham Healey, Charles Holt, James Taylor, James Butterworth, Churchw'd'ns. Rochdale, January 18, 1799."

A numerous Parish Meeting was held accordgly and the matter of Right was debated for a considble time. Mr. Holt was present but sd little, except that he had acted under the direction of an employer. No person howr stood up as an advocate for him, except a relation of the Goose Lane and Castlemere families, and this gentleman on the show of hands, was the only person who voted for Mr. Holt. The Resolutns of which the follg are a copy were passed at this Meeting.

At a public meetg held in the Vestry in the Par. Ch. of Rochde the 1st Febr. 1799, purs't to a regular notice given for the purpose of takg into cons'on the necessary and proper steps to be had for reinstating the seats called the yeomen-men's seats in the s'd Church lately converted to private uses and for other the purposes mentd in such notice. Resolved — That this meetg is of opinion that the seats in the Chancel of this Church called the Yeomen-men's seats are the Right and Property of the Freeholdrs Yeomen and Leypayers of this Parish, and that the act of Mr. Richd Holt in altering and destroying the s'd seats and convertg them to diffr purposes is illegal. Resolved— That the said seats be opened as heretofore. Resolved — That the undermd persons shall be and they are hereby appd a committee on behalf of the P'sh of Rochdale for the purpose of conductg and managing any suit action or prosecutn that shall or may be instituted brought or had or which may be defended in any Court of Law or Equity or in any Spiritual Court or otherwise touching and concerng the s'd Yeomen-men's seats or the Right thereto and the reinstating the said seats in the manner as they have been immemorly held used and enjoyed. And that any 3 of the said committee shall be a quorum and have full power to act and bind the whole; and make such orders as they shall think proper, adjourn and meet again as often as they shall think necessary and with full power to retain and employ such solicitors, proctors, counsel and advocates as they shall judge proper.

THOMAS SMITH of Castleton Esq.

JAMES HOLLAND of Rochdale Esq.	JAMES HEY of Heights Gent
ROBERT BESWICKE of Pike House Esq.	THOS. WOOD of Rochdale Gent.
JAMES ROYDS of Brown Hill Esq.	JAS. HOLT ROBINSON of Spotland bridge Gent.
JAMES DEARDEN of the Orchard Esq.	EDMD. TAYLOR of Ogden Gent.
ROBERT HOLT of Lower Place Esq.	JOHN MILNE of Ladyhouse Gent.
WM. NEWALL of Town House Merchr	JAMES HOLT of Low Houses Gent.
ROB. LEECH of Spotland Bridge Merch.	JAMES LANCASHIRE of Shaw Gent.

Resd That the thanks of this meetg be given to James Holland Esq. for his attention and spirited conduct in respect of this business. Signed in the name and on the behalf and by order of the meeting — the names of the 4 ch'd'ns.

N.B.— The Churchw'd'ns were chosen to be of the Committee.

The Committee will hold their first meeting on Friday the 13th Febr inst. at 11 o cl'k in the Forenoon in the Vestry of the Par. Church of R. to proceed on the above mentioned business and when the attende of every member of such committee is particy desired.— Rochdale, Febr. 6, 1799.

At this meeting it was strongly recommd to Mr. Holt to reinstate the Seats as heretofore. Mr. Holt sd he wd write to his employer on the subject, and a fortnight's time was fixed for his giving in an answer, but he has not yet sent any commun to the committee on the subject.

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In pursuance therefore of the above Resol^ns^ the Committee had their 1^st^ meeting on the 15 Febr. 1799 when they came to the following Resolt^ns^.

Present.

James Holland Esq.	Mr. Jas. Hey.	Mr. Abr. Healey.	Church-wardens.
Jas. Royds Esq.	Mr. Jas. Holt Robinson.	Mr. Chas. Holt.	
Rob^t^ Beswicke Esq.	Mr. Jas. Lancashire.	Mr. Jas. Taylor.	
Mr. Thos. Wood.	Mr. Jno. Milne.	Mr. Jas. Butterworth.	
Mr. Jas. Holt.	Mr. Jas. Hardman, Chw'd'n for Whitworth.		

Ordered — That James Holland Esq. be and he is hereby chosen and selected chairman of this meet^g^ with a power of a casting vote in case of even numbers on any question whatever.

Ordered — That Mr. James Hamer be and he is hereby chosen and elected Attorney or Sol^r^ in behalf of the s^d^ comm^e^ for the conduct^g^ and manag^g^ all matters and things regarding the s^d^ yeomen men's seats with full power to take such steps and measures in, ab^t^ or relating to the business and consult and advise with and retain such counsel advocates and proctors as he shall think proper. He the s'd John Hamer from time to time report^g^ to the s'd com^e^ y^e^ state and progress of the proceed^gs^ respect^g^ the s'd seats.

Ord^d^ — That Maj^r^ Scholfield and Wm. Robinson be employed to open the seats as heretofore, they are hereby indemnif^d^ by the comm^e^ for so open^g^ the same.

Ord^d^ — That this Comm^e^ be adjourned to this day 3 weeks in the Vestry to be holden at 12 o/ck at noon; nevertheless with a power for Mr. Holland to call the comm^e^ tog^r^ sooner in case of emergency or if he shall think proper.

Signed the 14 persons before mentioned.

On the same 15^th^ Feb^ry^ the persons delegated to open the seats assist^d^ by an^r^ labourer or two, did open the same, by sawing down the ends of the new extensions as near to the line of the encroachment as c^d^ possibly be ascert^d^ leaving the Benches on the Northerly and Southerly sides for the accom^n^ of the Yeomen Freeh^rs^ and Leypayers but without making up the ends of the respective seats adjoin^g^ the Yeomanry seats. They left the timber and other materials so sawn off in the respective seats, part of such timber and materials being parcel of the ancient timber of the Church and the other part thereof being new Timber and materials furnished by Mr. Holt. The Benches so now left for the Yeomanry to sit on are not the same old Benches which were there before the Innovation but new Benches lately composing part of the resp'tive seats. On Sunday the 18th Feb^r^ instant a number of the comm^e^ resorted to these latter benches to hear Divine Service and Mr. Holt and the families of Castlemere and Goose Lane and others also resorted to the resp'tive seats in their occupation.

These are the proceed^gs^ which have been taken and it is presumed Mr. Holt or some other person may be disposed to institute some sort of steps ag^t^ the labourers employ^d^ in open^g^ the seats. The Parish are resolutely determined to resist such action in any Court of Law or otherwise being of opinion that Mr. Holt or the Abp. or any person claiming under him cannot justify the late alteration. It is presumed the ancient Benches affixed on the Southerly and Northerly sides of the Chancel, lately

constit^{g} part of the Yeomanry seats are of equal antiquity with the church itself, and must conseq^{y} be there more than a century before the erection of the Pews by the Byron family; admitt^{g} such Pews to have been erected by that Family, of which there is no evidence or presump^{n} but from the arms above stated. If the Byron family erected the last ment^{d} Pews it seems clear that they did not hold themselves justified, or had some good reasons for not making the extensions which Mr. Holt has thought proper to make: and it can be proved by evidence of old People that these Yeomanry seats have been resorted to by Gen^{n}, Clergy, Leypayers and others all their days, and that they were so resorted to by their ancestors and predecessors before them. There were desks for the Yeomanry to lay their Books upon the whole length thereof, which appe^{d} of equal antiquity, but which, of course, are now no more. We are told that as the Abp. is the Rector of the P'sh the Chancel is undoubt^{y} his, to do what he pleases with and the Abp. constantly repairs the Chancel. We admit that the Rector usually repairs the Chancel of all Churches but we do not admit the unqualified right of the Abp. to the Chancel. Dr. Gibson who wrote fully upon the Laws Statutes and Canons of the Church amongst o^{r} things says:—

"The Rector impropriate is entitled to the chief seat in the Chancel—Hall *v.* Ellis 7 Jac. But it was declared at the same time that by *Prescription* another might have it." (Noy, 133; Johnson, 164.) This we contend goes the whole length of saying that the Yeomanry &c. in our case may prescribe for their immemorial Seats and Sittings. It is also said "In some places where the Parson repairs the Chancel, the Vicar by prescription claims a right for his family." (Johnson, 242, 243.)

In the case of Rochdale Church we are inclined to think the Vicar and his family may have immemor^{y} sat in the seat denom^{d} in the Plan *The Vicars seat*, and that the clergyman or clergymen who assisted in offiat^{g} at Divine Service and the Sacraments resorted to the Seat called *the Clergyman's Seat.* (Here follow some quotations from Johnson p. 243–5 showing that the sole right to the Chancel was not always in the Rector although he repaired it.)

From the extracts and the evidence of such an immem^{l} enjoyment of these seats we are strongly of opinion y^{t} *Prescriptn.* favours our title to them indep^{t} of any control from the Abp. as Rector or any jurisd^{n} whatever, and that in all cases of Prescription the Ordinary hath nothing to do with it but that the matter is solely determin^{ble} at Common Law. On the other hand Mr. Holt contends that the Church cannot forfeit her rights and that no Prescription will hold in any case.

If the Ordin^{y} has the power which it is evident he has of ordering Prayer to be s'd in the Chancel of Rochdale Church there would be no place for the bulk of the congreg^{n} to stand or sit in except the aisle or a small portion of the Chancel near the Communion Rails, for by the several encroachments which have been made the Chancel is compressed into a small compass indeed. And the occupiers of these seats so built in the Chancel claim the right of locking and bolting the doors of them, to the exclusion of every person but whom they think proper.

It has been before stated that the Parish think this question of infinite importance, and that they are determ^{d} to resist the innova^{n} with all their might.

Your opinion and advice is therefore req^{d} on the whole of the subject matter here

stated and more particularly as to the nature of the proceedings which you conceive the Abp. or Mr. Holt may be advised to take in the business, and in what court or courts and what sort of defence either general or partiʳ can or ought to be set up by the Parish or Persons against whom any action may be brought for their justifⁿ and the trying the right in question."

In view of this Case Mr. Croke stated his opinion as follows:— "As it must be supposed that Mr. Holt has acted under the authority of the Ab'p or his Lessee I shall consider this Case entirely in that view.

There can be no doubt but that by the General Law, every Appropriʳ as he is bound to repair, so he is entitled to the exclusive disposal of the Seats in the Chancel. The right in this instance seems to have been confirmed by the exercise of it, by the Byron family in erecting Pews.

But it is equally clear that a Title to seats in the Chancel may be acqᵈ by Prescription which wᵈ completely supersede and exclude the general right of the Appropriʳ.

The only question in this case is whether such facts can be estabᵈ as are sufficient to support a Prescription.

It is not stated whether the Yeomen men's seats have ever been repaired by the Parish which wᵈ be the strongest proof of their right. But I apprehend that, as probably there never has been any occasion to repair them, and they seem to have been a part of the original edifice, there may be sufficient evidence to enable the Parishⁿˢ to prescribe for them from immemorial usage, without interruptⁿ, joined to the other circumstances above stated in the case. The Abp. of Cantʸ having no jurisdⁿ over the Par. of Rochdale can be considered in the light of a common Appropʳ; and I imagine that a prescriptive claim of a seat in the Chancel as ag'st the Appropriator wᵈ be consᵈ in a more favourable light, than that of a Pew in the Body of the Church ag'st the general Right of ye Ordinary because the Appropʳ has not the cure of souls.

Besides the right of the (ordinʸ) Appropʳ is not absolute and unlimited, it is rather in the nature of a Trust, which cannot he exercised in a manner which is injurious to the P'sh, or inconsistᵗ with the end for which churches and chancels were erected, that of accomodᵍ the Inh'bts with convenience when they attended divine service and the adm'on of the Sacraments.

But it seems that the enclosure of those seats wᵈ produce great inconvenience to the P'sh'ners as there is not room enough for their accommⁿ in the body of the Church and they have also been usually occupᵈ by the communicᵗˢ. Nor can it be s'd that they are built for the purpose of providing any person with seats who were destitute since the greater part are merely additⁿˢ to old Pews which do not appear to have been too small or incommodious for the use of the families which occupy them. I cannot therefore think that such an exercise of the appropriators power even if he had not lost it by a contrary prescriptⁿ would be justifiable. Upon the whole I am of opinion that the P'sh'nrs have acted perfectly right both to themselves and their posterity in resistᵍ this incroachment and if it shᵈ be necessary to submit their case to the decision, either of a civil or an Ecclesiastical Tribunal, I think that there is great probability of their success.

As Prescriptions are not of the cognizance of the Eccles¹ Courts it is most probable

that Mr. Holt and his employers, if they choose to proceed further will be advised to bring their action at Common Law, in which case the Par. will think it proper to consult as to the precise mode of their defence, with those gent^{n} of the profession, to whom they intrust the management of their case.

The next Qu^{n} was — Are the Ch'd'ns justified in making a larger Rate for the purpose of defraying expenses of any suit &c.? Dr. Croke was of opinion that they were and had power to make a Rate to defray the expences of any proceed^{gs} at Law which the Par. thought it necessary to engage in, for the purpose of maint^{e} their Rights relating to the Church, &c.

Signed, ALEXR. CROKE, Doctor's Commons, 14 March 1799.

In consequence of this opinion which was laid before the Committee it instructed Mr. Hamer to call upon Mr. Holt to reinstate the Yeomen Men's Seats as before at his own expense within a month, in default of which the Commiftee would itself proceed to do the work at the expense of the Parish in the first instance and then to take steps to recover the same from Mr. Holt.

Mr. Holt having taken no steps in the manner the seats were duly reinstated. Mr. Holt threatened to bring an action against the carpenter who did the work but did not do so apparently, and we are told that "he and his family continued to sit in the seats ever since they were so laid open and on Sunday 27th Oct. 1799 he and his d^{r} or daugh^{rs} also went into and sat in the seats though reduced to their ancient form and where it had not been customary for ladies to sit."

(*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xiv. pp. 401–13.)]

In October, 1799, Dr. Drake preached the consecration sermon on the opening of Milnrow chapel, and was complimented by Bishop Cleaver on his "excellent discourse." His text was *Genesis* xxviii. 17, "This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven."* It was not published. He preached on the following Sunday from *Exodus* iii. 5.

In 1801 the Rev. Dr. Whitaker dedicated to him the large map published in the *History of Whalley*, in the following terms:— "To the Rev. Dr. Thomas Drake, D.D., Vicar of Rochdale, this map, adapted to the History of the Original Parish of Whalley and Honor of Clitheroe, and principally formed upon the orthography of charters, is inscribed, as an acknowledgement of his many valuable communications to this work, by his obliged and obedient servant, THE AUTHOR."

* *Teste* Mr. Abr. Schofield, the old clerk, August 17, 1832. On referring to Mr. S.'s *MS.* I find that Dr. Drake preached the consecration sermon from *Exodus* iii. 5, and on the following Sunday from *Genesis* xxviii. 17.

Liberality in church matters was not common in his day, and large sums were not given. In 1808 he rebuilt the large barn on the glebe of Saddleworth, of which church he was the sequestrator. He also aided in re-building the church of Littleborough. In 1814 he contributed largely towards the establishment of the National School, Rochdale.

[The foundation deed of this school was executed the 18th November 1815 between Jonathan Fildes the younger of Wardleworth Esq. of the one part and the Rev. Thomas Drake D.D. Vicar of Rochdale. James Royds of Mount Falinge Esq. John Walmsley of Castlemere Esq. Thomas Heppon Vavasour of Rochdale Esq. John Entwistle the younger of Foxholes Esq. John Gilbert Royds of Greenhill Esq. Robert Holt of Crossfield Esq. James Holland of Rochdale Esq. Clement Royds of Brownhill Esq. and Thomas Wood of Rochdale Esq. of the other part. Reciting that a fund had lately been raised by subscriptions and otherwise within the Par. of Rochdale for the purpose of founding a School on Dr. Bell's system and for effecting the same and that a committee had been app^{d} with power to look out for a suitable situation for the erection thereon of the s'd intended School and had agreed with James Wrigley of Wardleworth Yeoman for the demise of a plot of land as a site. And the said plot by Ind're dated 1 June 1814 and made between one Thomas Parr of the 1st pt. the s'd James Wrigley of the 2 pt. and the s'd Jonathan Fildes of the 3d pt. had been demised and leased to the s'd Jonathan Fildes his Ex'ors &c. for the term of 976 years at the rent of £23 payable Sept. 29 and March 25th and further reciting that a large school had been built upon the s'd plot out of the fund subscribed as af'sd and it had been agreed that the surplus fund subscribed and all monies thereafter raised by subscriptions and contributions sh^{d} after paying the ground-rent, leases and keeping the premises in repair be appropriated to paying the salaries of persons employed in and about the school, buying of books and other things necessary for the use and instruction of the Children. And reciting that the s'd Jonathan Fildes name was only used in Trust for the benefit of the s'd School Establishment and that he and his ex'ors adm'rs and ass's should and might stand seized of the said plot and school and money then in his hands raised by subscription as af'sd first to pay the rent reserved by the s'd lease so that it might not become void or voidable and so that the s'd Jonathan Fildes his ex'ors etc. should be fully indemnified ag'st the said rent covenants and agreements. And the parties named above were Trustees for the transacting and managing of all the concerns of the said school Estate and prem'es and whenever the number should be reduced to 3 by death resignation or otherwise it should be lawful for the surviving Trustees to hold a meeting in the school after reasonable notice to the surviving Trustees, and then elect new Trustees. Provided that the Vicar for the time being of the Parish of Rochdale should always be a Trustee of the School and Premises. And after paying for the building of the School, the Ground rent, Books and Salaries the still remaining surplus of the subscriptions should be disposed of as a majority of the contributors should appoint and it was declared that if at any time

thereafter it should be found impossible to carry on the s'd school either on account of the insufficiency of funds or other reasonable cause and that an absolute sale of the s'd Trust Estate and prem'es sh[d] be necessary it sh[d] be lawful for the Trustees to dispose of the same and apply the funds as the majority should appoint as af'sd. And declaring that the s'd Trustees out of the monies coming to their hands should reimburse themselves of all charges and expences incurred by reason of the Trusts.

In witness whereof etc.

Signed etc.

JONATHAN FILDES JUNR.	THO. H. VAVASOUR.	CLEMENT ROYDS.
THOS. DRAKE D.D.	JAS. HOLLAND.	ROBERT HOLT.
JAMES ROYDS.	JOHN ENTWISTLE JUNR.	THOS. WOOD.
JOHN WALMSLEY.	JOHN GILBERT ROYDS.	

Miss Betty Whitworth, by will dated 11th September, 1817, left the interest and dividends of £50 in aid of the school. About 1832 or 3 Miss Ann Taylor, daughter of Ralph Taylor, the parish clerk, left £100 to the same school. In 1834, Mr. John Lea, solicitor and steward to some of the vicars, also left £100. By will dated July, 1838, Jonathan Fildes of Quarry Hill, Esq., left £1,000 to the same school. In 1841 the ground rent of the school was purchased out of these two last legacies. The balance of £477 4*s.* was invested in the Three per Cents. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol xv. pp. 146–9.)]

In 1815 large rates were levied in the parish at the time of Mr. Wyatt's (afterwards Sir Geoffrey Wyattsville) alterations and improvements were made in the parish church, and the Doctor, being opposed to the re-building of that church, suggested, and, with the leading parishioners, obtained a special Act of Parliament for the erection and endowment of St. James's Church in the town.

[During the alterations the parish Church services were performed in the school-room, by virtue of the following faculty:—

To the Right Rev. Father in God, George Henry by Divine Perm[n] Lord Bishop of Chester.

The Humble Petition of the Minister Churchwardens and Inhabitants of the Parish of Rochdale in the Co. of Lanc. and Y[r] Lps Diocese of Chester afsd.

Sheweth That upon a survey recently made by several respectable architects of the Parish Church of Rochdale afsd it has been found to be in so ruinous and decayed a state that Divine Service can be no longer performed there without real danger to the

Minister and Congregation. That your Petitioners are using their best endeavours to make due arrangements for the effectual repairing and rebuilding of the said Church, and the same cannot be done in any manner without a considerable intermission of Divine Service therein.

That to prevent the congregation from dispersing to other places whilst the said Church is repaired or rebuilt your Petitioners are desirous to obtain your Lordships permission and authority for the performance of Divine Service in the Free Grammar School in the churchyard of and adjoining to the said Church to which your Petitioners are consenting. Your Petitioners pray that your L^p^ will be pleased to Grant your License or Faculty to authorize the minister for the time being of the Parish Church of Rochdale afs^d^ to perform due service according to the Liturgy of the Church of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and to administer the Holy Sacram^ts^ to Preach and to perform all other Divine offices within the said Free Grammar School and the Parishioners to attend within the same during such time only as shall be necessarily required for the effectual repairing or rebuilding of the said Church. And your Petitioners shall ever pray.

Signed

THOS. DRAKE, D.D., Vicar.

JOS. BRIERLEY. WM. FROOD.
JAS. PARTINGTON. JAS. SUTCLIFFE. } Churchwardens.
JAMES BESWICKE.

DANL. NIELD, Parish Clerk.

JOHN KENYON.	GEO. LEE.
JO. GREENWOOD.	JOHN CHADWICK.
THOS. BUXTON.	EDMUND DAWSON.
WM. MILNE.	JAMES FISHER.
W. HORTON, M.A.	JOHN WALMSLEY.
PETER LEACH.	WM. BROOKS.

Not dated, but in 1815 or 1816.

From the Parish Books we learn that —

"1 Jan., 1806, a Baptistery was ordered."

"28th Jan., 1807. An order was made respecting the disposal of five pews erected at the N. W. angle of the Church, occasioned by the removal of the font. These pews were sold on the 17th February, for £264. The expence of erecting the pews, &c., had been £220, so that there was a surplus of £44, which was ordered to be applied to the necessary repairs of the church." (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xv. p. 194.)

"6 July, 1809. Four new books were ordered in Vestry for the Doctors Pew." (*Ibid.*, p. 189.)

Neither the vicar nor his curate, it would seem, had previously

a pew assigned him. A faculty was now obtained for assigning such a pew to the vicar, which ran as follows :—

His Grace John Lord Abp of Canterbury Patron of the Vicarage of Rochdale in the Co. of Lanc and owner of the Rectory of Rochdale being desirous that a proper seat or pew sh[d] be provided in the chancel of the Parish Church of Rochdale for the use of the present Vicar of Rochdale and his successors. And the said Lord Abp having desired W[m] Young of Chancery Lane in the Co[y] of Middlesex Esq his Lessee of the sd Rectory to relinquish all his right and interest in such part of the said Chancel as is hereinafter ment[d] for such purpose to which the s'd William Young hath readily consented and agreed. Now the said Lord Abp doth as far as he legally can for himself and his successors give permission to the Reverend Doctor Drake the present Vicar of Rochdale to enclose so much of the said Chancel on the north side of the passage or aisle leading from the said Chancel into the body of the s'd Church and adjoin[g] to the partition or railing w'ch divides the s'd Chancel from the s'd Church as will be five feet and eight inches in length on the west and east sides thereof and eight feet and four inches in length on the north and south sides thereof and to erect and set up a seat or pew thereon for the use of the said Doctor Drake and his family and for the use of his successors and their families such seat or pew to be supported by the vicar for the time being and the s'd Lord Abp doth desire that a copy of this permission may be entered in the minutes of the Vestry at Rochdale.

Dated at Lambeth House this 26th day of April 1803.

Signed J. CANTUAR.

Witness W. YOUNG, Lessee.

G. W. DILKES, Secretary to the Abp of Canterbury.

This permission was accompanied by a letter from Mr. Young, as follows :—

Dear Sir — I prepared the enclosed a day or two after I saw you but I was so suddenly seized with the influenza that I have not been at Lambeth since. In the new Lease, previous to the Sale this piece of ground will be excepted and of course will not be sold, so that it will remain in the Archbishops for the time being in trust for their Vicars for ever. — I am dear Sir your faithful servant

Chancery Lane 19th May 1802. W. YOUNG.

In the Parish Book is this entry :—"This piece of ground, together with the seat belonging to the vicar, was made into a handsome pew for the use of the Vicars, at the expence of the parish, in the spring of 1804.—THOS. DRAKE, D.D., Vicar." (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xiv. pp. 398–9.)

On the 30th July, 1819, a faculty was granted to the churchwardens to assign a certain seat or pew in the Parish church of Rochdale to the use of the stipendiary curate and his family. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xiv. p. 400.)

The question of an additional burial ground for the parish was now becomming urgent. It was first mooted at a parish meeting in October and November, 1781, and negatived.

On the 29th of November, 1789, it was again mooted, and on the 29th of December it was ordered that counsel's opinion should be taken whether the vicar could dispose of any of the glebe land for a burial ground.

16th July, 1793. It was resolved that the churchyard should be enlarged and enclosed with a stone wall on the south-east side of the Broad Field — that the annexed rent of the land and the houses, then in the possession of James Whitworth and his under-tenants, was agreed to be £25 a year, payable to the vicar by the churchwardens and their successors for ever; that 7*s.* should be paid to the churchwardens for every gravestone that should be laid down in the new ground, which money was to be appropriated for the repairs of the church and churchyard enclosure, and that every first grave should be six feet deep.

26th June, 1803, the question of a burial ground was again mooted, and on the 29th of June the churchwardens were ordered to contract for a new churchyard.

On the 28th December, 1803, the churchwardens contracted with and paid to the Rev. Bowness Cleasby, clerk, 49*l.* 10*s.* for part of a garden and a back yard in his occupation, adjoining to the easterly side of the churchyard, containing about 132 square yards.

On Sunday, July 14th, 1811, a notice was published in the church requesting the leypayers of the parish to meet the churchwardens in the church on Tuesday, July 23rd, at five o'clock in the afternoon, to consider about purchasing a piece of land for a new burial ground.

At a public meeting held on July 23rd, in pursuance of this notice, it was unanimously agreed that the churchwardens should treat with the Rev. Dr. Drake, vicar, for so much land as they might think sufficient for the enlarging of the burial ground in the Broad Field, and that the parish would confirm such agree-

ment. Signed—Smith Newall, Edm. Dawson, James Chadwick, Joseph Heap, churchwardens; Jonathan Fildes, jun., John Elliott, Lawrence Hardman, Wm. Holt, J. L. Taylor, James Butterworth, John Buckley, Joseph Butterworth, Saml. Lomax, John Leach, James Holte, William Whitworth, John Worrall, John Brearley; Dan. Nield, parish clerk.

By an indenture made the 1st September, 1813, between Dr. Drake of the first part, the most Rev. Charles Manners, Archbishop of Canterbury, as patron, of the second part; the Right Rev. George Henry, Lord Bishop of Chester, as ordinary, of the third part; and John Walmsley of Castlemere, in the parish of Rochdale, and James Holland of Rochdale, Esq., of the fourth part. Dr. Drake conveyed to the said Walmsley and Holland, their heirs and assigns, in virtue of the power created by an Act of Parliament passed in the 43rd George III., entitled an Act to promote the building, repairing, or otherwise providing of churches and chapels, and of houses for the residence of Ministers, and the providing of churchyards and glebes, and by and with the approbation of the said archbishop and bishop, as by the said Act required, a plot of land lately a part of the Broad Field, and containing an acre, in trust, to get the same enclosed and consecrated as an additional burial ground to the parish church. This deed is signed by the archbishop, bishop, and by Dr. Drake, and duly acknowledged on the 8th September by Dr. Drake, before John Lee, a master in Chancery, and enrolled on the 13th September following.

In addition to this conveyance articles of agreement were drawn up between the vicar and the churchwardens in reference to the same piece of land, and the churchwardens, Geo. Law, Thos. Buxton, Wm. Frood, and Thos. Partington, entered into a bond to secure the payment of the rent.

On 23rd September, 1813, at a public vestry meeting of the leypayers, it was unanimously resolved that the agreement made by the churchwardens with Dr. Drake for a plot of land to be taken from the Broad Field at a rent of £20 a year, to be paid

quarterly, should be confirmed. The terms and stipulations entered into by the churchwardens for securing the conveyance and the payment of the said rent, and also the bond entered into by the churchwardens as a collateral security, were all duly confirmed, and the churchwardens were personally indemnified in regard to the said bond.

It was also agreed that Daniel Nield, who was then parish clerk, should have a salary of 10*l.* per annum paid him out of the church rates for looking after the new burying ground and keeping the graves in order, such salary to commence on the completion of the churchyard. To this resolution the names of Dr. Drake, D.D., vicar, Thoms. Buxton, Wm. Frood, Jas. Partington, churchwardens, and Jas. Howarth, Joseph Heap, John Lyon Taylor, James Nuttall, Benj. Meanley, John Brearley, John Lee, Willm. Redfearn and Dan. Nield, parish clerk, are appended.

In the deed of consecration, dated the 29th of September, 1813, it is recited how the piece of ground for the new burial ground had been conveyed to John Walmsley of Castlemere, and James Holland of Rochdale as aforesaid. How the same piece of ground had been duly enclosed with a wall, and how the said John Walmsley and James Holland had offered the same to be consecrated "as a cemetery or place of Christian burial wherein the bodies of the dead to be interred therein, might be laid up until the General Resurrection." The deed then goes on to state how the bishop had duly consecrated the ground, and that the deed had been openly and publickly read, on Wednesday, September 29th, 1813, in the presence of the bishop and his registrar. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xiv. pp. 391–4.)

The conveyance of the ground by the vicar under a perpetual lease was clearly *ultra vires* (the Act 43 George III., ch. 108, not authorising the leasing of land), and was the subject of more than one counsels' opinion.

Fees to be paid for Burial Places in the New Ground.

For a vault	5	5	0
For every double grave under letters A, B, C, D, E, size 7 feet 5 inches by 4 feet 3 inches	0	15	0

For every single grave under letters F, G, H, I, size 6 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 3 inches..	0	7	6
For every single grave under letters K, L, size 6 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 3 inches	0	5	0
Every grave under M and N, free for the use of the poor, size 6 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 3 inches.			
To the grave maker—			
For the first opening of every grave, which must by 9 feet deep	0	3	0
For every future opening	0	2	0

N.B.—Whoever purchases any of the above burial places must lay a stone over it in six months, or forfeit all claim to the grave. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xiv. p. 396.)]

Amongst Dr. Drake's friends who visited him at Rochdale were Sir Isaac Pennington, Professor Christian of Cambridge (who afterwards married Miss Walmsley of Castlemere), the Rev. James Drake, and the Rev. Dr. Thomas Balguy—the latter having preached in Rochdale church when an old man.*

[The celebrities above named were not the only visitors at the vicarage, and we read in one of Miss Ferrand's letters to her brother in London:—"March 29th, 1807. The young *Roscius* performed in Rochdale for the first time on Monday. He dined at the vicarage yesterday." (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. ix. p. 384.)]

Archbishop Moore was a personal friend and great admirer both of Dr. Balguy and his writings, and always treated his chaplain, Dr. Drake, with singular kindness for the sake of Balguy, who, when archdeacon of Winchester, had preached in Lambeth chapel (February 12, 1775), the consecration sermon of Hurd, Bishop of Lichfield, and of Moore, Bishop of Bangor. When Dr. Balguy died (January 19, 1795) his library and manuscripts were bequeathed to his kinsman, Dr. Drake, vicar of Rochdale, and had the books been sold, Hurd, at that time bishop of Worcester, wished to have bought them for the library which he was then founding at Hartlebury for his episcopal successors. Dr. Drake's successor in the vicarage of Rochdale told me that he recollected calling upon the Doctor about the year 1792 or 1793, and was struck with "the meanness of his library," and did not think that it contained "*one hundred volumes*." Dr. Balguy's fine col-

* *Tate* Rev. Thomas Steele, B.A., 1832.

lection, "a most choice one, filled with the best 4to *variorum* classics and the best divinity,"* which included his kinsman's, Dr. Powell's, would be a welcome addition to the young vicar's scanty library. On the death of Dr. Drake, Bishop Law of Chester employed the Rev. John Taylor Allen, M.A., the Chetham librarian, to value these books, which his lordship purchased and presented to the library of St. Bee's College, which had just been founded by the bishop and Lord Lonsdale.

Warburton's correspondence with Balguy was given by Mrs. Allen, Dr. Drake's daughter, to my friend Mr. James Crossley, F.S.A., of Manchester, in the year 1866.

In a letter signed "J. E." in the *Gent. Mag.*, vol. xcv. part 2, 1825, p. 20, are some interesting particulars of Dr. Balguy, given to the writer by his (Dr. Balguy's) nephew, Dr. Drake:—

I had the pleasure of spending a week in the summer of 1813 under the hospitable roof of the late Dr. Drake, and when there he showed me a series of letters from Warburton to Balguy, which I should think would fill a moderate-sized octavo. They gave strong proofs of Warburton's powerful mind and his warm friendship for Hurd and Balguy. Hurd and Balguy were intimate friends at college, and Hurd introduced Balguy to Warburton. Balguy was of too weak and retiring a mind to seek a preferment, and he refused a bishoprick. I will relate the circumstance as near as I can in the words of his nephew:—

"My uncle's eyes were weak, and he had besides a squabble with one *Nott*, an officer in the cathedral, about the repairs of it. One night he was awakened by his servant bringing him a note; looking at the bottom of it, and seeing, as he thought, the word *Nott*, he hastily bade the servant go away, and he would answer it in the morning. The servant shortly returned and informed him that the messenger was sure he had not read the letter. On more attentively looking, he saw that it was signed *North*, and contained an offer of the bishoprick of Gloucester, then vacant by the death of Warburton. He still sent away the messenger, saying he would answer in the morning, which answer was declining the offer. 'The bishoprick of Gloucester,' said my uncle to me in relating the story, 'had cost me one night's rest, I was determined it should not cost me another,' and upon my looking a little out of heart, he said, 'Come, come, my lad, I considered that, and there was nothing good I could give you.'"

It would certainly be a loss should the letters of Warburton perish; they complete and explain those from Warburton to Hurd.

* *Gent. Mag.*, vol. xcv. p. 29.

In the latter part of his life Dr. Drake was called in Rochdale "The old Doctor," and he had acquired the name as one of respect and veneration.

> In the midst
> Of all he sate, uniting old and young,
> Friends of his youth, disciples of his age,
> So that he smiled on all, and made all smile.
> His life the chain, which, threading one by one
> The circlets of past fifty years, joined them
> Into one generation. Many hung
> From ring or link; alone he held both ends,
> So many had he led on wisdom's path,
> So many had sustained up Virtue's steep,
> That by consent they called him all "the Doctor,"
> Aye, "the old Doctor" was their name of love.

Dr. Drake appears only to have published a single sermon, being urged to do so by some of his parishioners, as the subject had reference to local events. The text was *Proverbs* xxiv. 21. "My son fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change." A very competent judge* to whom I gave my copy of the sermon said he had no hesitation in attributing it to Dr. Balguy. I did not think it was equal to that vigorous writer, and it contained only common places. There is little of the "polished dulness" which some alleged as a failing in Dr. Drake's ordinary discourses.

The Doctor was an economist of his doctrine, and is said to have preached annually the same sermon on *the Feast of the Epiphany*, from the text—"Where is he that is born King of the Jews, for we have seen his star in the east and are come to worship him" (*S. Matthew*, ii., 2.), and the opening sentence—"Such was the language of the Eastern magi"—became almost a phrase amongst the old church goers, and was long remembered.

On one occasion the vicar preached on *Easter Day*, and his manuscript had either become disarranged, or he had written two sermons in the same book, and he went on for some time very composedly with a *Good Friday* sermon, until he came to

* The Rev. W. R. Hay, Vicar of Rochdale.

the passage—"who was, *as on this day, suspended on the cross* for us men and for our salvation"—when, discovering his error, he rapidly turned the *MS.* and preached a sermon suitable for the *Easter Festival.* Mr. Hugh Oldham was at church and witnessed the vicar's dilemma, and heard a very good Easter Day discourse, and he did not agree with one of the parishioners who observed, that the Doctor's "drowsy tinklings" *always* "*lull'd* the distant folds." It is admitted by all that he was not an impressive preacher, that he rather *lisped* his words, and that his sentences sometimes seemed paralysed. In his day there was no earnestness or zeal in the Rochdale pulpits, and oratory was unknown.

There was nothing remarkable in his abilities or general character. He appears to have been one of those persons who possessed an easy mediocrity of talent, and neither provoked the envy of the great, nor incurred the contempt of the low.

As a parish priest he was not inactive, but little seems to have been done by him to check the progress of opinions which he disapproved, or to reclaim those whom he considered to be swayed by pernicious opinions, or by no opinions at all. He understood the characteristics of his parishioners and humoured them, but did not attempt to resist the encroachments of fanaticism upon the authority of the Church, or to check the intemperate proceedings of men educated, as his neighbouring vicar, Whitaker, strongly observed, without domestic discipline, and having no conception of submitting to authority in civil life.

In 1807 Mr. Whitaker introduced a bill into parliament for the promotion and encouragement of industry amongst the labouring classes of the community, and for the relief and regulation of the necessitous and criminal poor. *Schools* were to be established in *every* parish, buildings erected or provided, and the management vested in the minister, churchwardens, and overseers. Magistrates in sessions were to approve of the masters and mistresses of schools nominated by the vestry of each parish, and also to fix the salaries to be received by the same. Children to receive elementary instruction in secular subjects, and be required

to attend church or chapel every Sunday, and be taught free between the ages of seven and fourteen if the parents were too poor to pay.

The bill was much opposed by the Lancashire magistrates, and amongst its most vehement opponents were Dr. Drake and his successor in the vicarage, Mr. Hay. The following objections to this admirable measure are preserved in Dr. Drake's handwriting:—

PART FIRST — SCHOOLS.

These Remarks refer to the Parish of Rochdale only.

The Establishment of Schools unnecessary as there are already sufficient Opportunities for the Instruction of poor children if they or their Parents are willing to profit by them: a Majority of such Children above 5 years of age are engaged in Factories for 13 or 14 Hours every Day, these are too much fatigued by their Work to attend any Evening School, but many are & all might be instructed on Sundays in the Sunday Schools both of the Established Church, & the Methodists. Other Children may be sent gratis to the different Charity Schools instituted in various Parts of the Parish. Those who cannot attend at these Places may obtain Instruction in Reading, Writing & Accounts every Evening, for which purpose there are many Schools open at a penny an Evening.

PART SECOND — POOR'S FUNDS.

The Friendly Society Clubs seem to have rendered such Institutions, in a great measure unnecessary. Nor could the common People be easily induced to trust their Money in the Funds which they do not understand: many of the Stewards of the Friendly Societies when advised to place their Money in the Stocks, have answered Our People prefer private Security.

PART THIRD — SETTLEMENTS.

Permitting Strangers by five Years' Residence as Housekeepers to gain Settlements might be very injurious to many Towns, where aliens, Irishmen and Scotchmen, coming to exercise their Trades might leave a very heavy Burthen of helpless children upon the Township.

This would also unsettle every Determination concerning Settlements, & the Law must begin afresh.

Whether the Doctor's proceedings arose from timidity or natural reserve, or from a disinclination to embroil himself with his neighbours, does not appear, but he lived in his parish for

nearly thirty years without opposing any factions, or taking the high lead which, by his responsible position, he was fully entitled to do. And yet he may have exercised more authority for good than he would have done had his assumptions been more decided and his intellectual powers more conspicuous. Sometimes by acquiescing in the opinions of others he carried his own. His political principles remained decided and unchanged through life, and Mr. Pitt had not a warmer admirer in England, and yet it has never been said that Dr. Drake either neglected, or treated with contumely, those whose political views differed from his own, although he lived in an age when politics ran high.

He was so conscious of his approaching dissolution that, like Sir Matthew Hale,* he went into the common churchyard and chose his grave a few weeks before his death, and gave special directions respecting his burial. And, like Dr. Walter Pope,

> "He governed his passions with absolute sway,
> And grew wiser and better as strength wore away,
> Without gout or stone, *by a gentle decay.*"

His parishioners expressed great regret at his death, and large numbers of them followed his remains to the grave, and afterwards erected a large and costly, though unmeaning, monument to his memory, with an ordinary Latin inscription, said to have been written by the Rev. John Taylor Allen, the Chetham librarian, but not quite worthy of a man of his exact erudition.† Many years afterwards, when the letters on the tomb required to be re-gilded, owing to their having become obliterated by exposure to the weather, application was made to some members of the vicar's family to restore the perishing record, but, with an indifference which surprized the *older* parishioners, the application was disregarded, and I therefore preserve the inscription on the north side of the tomb:—

* Wordsworth's Eccles. Biogr. vol. vi. p. 63.

† Dr. Whitaker was asked, but *declined*, to write it.—Mr. S. [? Mr. Steele.—H.H.H.]

H.S.E.
THOMAS DRAKE, S. T. P.
Natu Halifaxensis
Coll. Div. John. Cant. quondam Socius
Reverendissimo in Xto Patri Johⁿ Moore
Archiep. Cantuar à Sacris Domesticis
Deindè
Eccl. de Hadley Com. Suff. Rector
Demum
Hujus Parochiæ
de Rochale per annos XXIX Vicarius
qui diem ob. supremum Sep. XIIº
M.D.C.C.C.XIX. annum ætatis agens LXXV.
Vir doctus, mitis, vitæ integer.

At the east end of the tomb is this inscription and coat of arms, but the tinctures are fading: The useless inscription having been written and added by Sophia Anne, second daughter of Dr. Drake:—

To the memory of Thomas Drake, D.D.
Vicar of this Parish 29 years,
Born at Halifax, 1745,
Who departed this life the 12th Sept., 1819.

On a shield:—

DRAKE, 1 and 4, a wyvern *gules*.
WOOD, 2 and 3, *or*, an oak tree, vert fructed *or*.
Impaling
YATE, *arg.*, a fess, in chief two mullets *or*.
DOBYNS, *az.*, a chevron between three annulets *or*.
BERKELEY, *gules*, a chevr. between ten crosses pat. *arg.*
BOX, *gules*, a stag's head, cabossed *or*.
Crest.—On a wreath, a wyvern *gules*. Motto, "L'Esperance."

On the south side of the tomb is the following:—

This monument was erected by the Parishioners
In Testimony of their affectionate regard
for the memory of their late worthy Vicar.

[In the obituary to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1819, is the following notice:—

September 12th. In his 75th year, the Rev. Tho. Drake, D.D., nearly 30 years vicar of Rochdale, Lancashire, and a justice of the peace for the counties of Lancaster, York, and Chester. He was of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he

proceeded B.A. 1768, M.A. 1771, B.D. 1779, D.D. 1784. He was a fervent pastor and upright and conscientious magistrate, a beneficent master, a faithful husband, an affectionate parent, a zealous friend, a truly generous and benevolent-hearted father of the fatherless; in a word, his virtuous life was an unerring guide for the Christian — while his private virtues and conciliating manners have endeared his memory to all who knew him, the soundness and rigour of his pulpit eloquence has left an indelible impression in the minds of his hearers. The Doctor's dissolution was as one who was falling into a gentle slumber.]

His old curate, the Rev. Thomas Steele, whom he educated at Cambridge, and afterwards preferred, informed me that:—"Dr. Drake was Lord Mount-Edgcumbe's tutor, and met Dr. Thomas Gorges at Mount-Edgcumbe, and all three made the tour of Europe together. A short time before the Doctor got the vicarage of Rochdale a bachelor uncle left him the estate of Quarry House, near Halifax, where my father* lived and managed the property for the Doctor. This estate once belonged to the Ramsdens, a respectable family, but had passed to the Woods, although, I think, Mrs. Ramsden, who died at Pike House in 1784, had some dower or other interest in it. She left Dr. Drake some apostle spoons and other old family plate. This estate was encumbered by a mortgage, but was sold after the Doctor's death for 16,000*l.* The Doctor never improved his worldly property, and although the vicarage was a rich one he spent all his income from it in the parish, and did not accumulate for his children. His wife kept a bountiful table and spent large sums in ornamenting the gardens and grounds, and had several poor women always employed in weeding the walks, which led the gossips to accuse her of extravagance.

"It was remarkable that Dr. Drake never removed the old family portraits from Quarry House, and Mrs. Allen, long after the Doctor's death, wished me to obtain such as were to be had, and I consulted old Mrs. Steele, my father's second wife, about them. I recollect the pictures of Dr. Drake when a boy—his father and mother, and his uncle Wood. Some of these were sent to Mrs. Allen.

* [*i.e.* Mr. Steele's father.]

"Dr. Drake was of short stature, but well formed. He had a large head, small eyes, a fair complexion, and a singularly large nose. He had a peculiar and sometimes not very agreeable expression of countenance, with a little defect in his utterance which assumed something of a lisp, but which was not unpleasing. His attention to his personal appearance was always scrupulous, and every one remarked the propriety and neatness of his dress. His large wig was never short of powder, and his shovel hat and gold-headed cane were always in their place. The short cassock and silk stockings were generally worn, and his appearance was the signal for the respectful attention of his parishioners of every grade. The courtesy and suavity of his manners, exhibited on all occasions, contributed to keep alive a deference towards him. In his latter years his gait was shuffling, and all his mannerism had passed away. He was an easy-tempered and good man, but he had a master at the vicarage."*

Mrs. Steele, writing from Kirkwall, November 22nd, 1849, observes in a letter to me:—"I fear I can add nothing worth knowing to the account my late dear husband gave you, many years ago, about Dr. Drake. I did not know the Doctor personally (for after our marriage I continued at Mr. Cathcart's) until I came to reside in Lancashire in March, 1818, and he died in the August of the following year. I saw him, however, very frequently in the interim, and can never forget his kindness of manner towards me. It is very true that I have heard dear Mr. Steele tell many little anecdotes of him, some of which were sufficient to create a smile, but I doubt if the recital would reflect much honour on his memory. I do not think he possessed what would be called brilliant parts, and yet in early life he must have had some pretensions to scholarship to have been tutor to Lord Mount-Edgecumbe. His excellent relation, Dr. Balguy, brought him under the notice of the Primate, Dr. Moore, and he lived in the palace as the domestic chaplain. I once showed you the letter the Archbishop wrote to Dr. Balguy, in reply to an appli-

* Letter dated August 11th, 1839.

cation for the chaplaincy. I fear old Mrs. Steele, of Halifax, will have destroyed the rest of the letters. After the death of her husband she gave me permission to look over the papers in an old bureau, but as I was no antiquary I selected only such as interested myself, viz., my dear husband's and his brother's letters to their parents, and passed over some that would have interested you, but a few of Balguy's, and one or two of the Archbishop's to Dr. Drake I brought off with me, and as I do not appear to have given them to you I regret I did not take better care of them. The very fact of such interesting letters, and some of Balguy's sermons (these I know you have) being amongst loose papers shows how little value the Doctor placed upon them. It is indeed very kind of you to rescue the memory of the departed from oblivion, for he will soon be forgotten After I knew the Doctor, which was, as I have said towards the latter part of his life, he was unquestionably a grave, regular, and pious man. His letters to my father-in-law, to my dear husband, and all his actions, bore evident proofs of a religious spirit. His manner was remarkably gentle and kind, and, especially to his servants and curates, he was always considerate. My husband used to say that until the Doctor's health failed he would always take his full share of the occasional duty as regularly as he did himself, and would visit the sick, and would often allow him to go to Quarry House to visit his parents and to remain there from the Monday to Saturday. He also used to direct Mr. Steele's attention to subjects for the pulpit, and allowed him to transcribe and adapt many of Balguy's and Powell's sermons from the original manuscripts. These copies dear Mr. Steele wished you to have, and I doubt not they are valued by you on two accounts. And yet the Doctor did not by any means class Mr. Steele amongst the number of those to whom Crabbe alludes as considering "the Sunday's *task*," &c.

Dr. Drake was once marrying a couple from Smallbridge, and when he came to that part of the service—"Wilt thou have this woman to be thy wedded wife?" the simple collier interrupted

the vicar by saying with great bluntness, "Aye, sure; why, I coom here o' purpose."

At another time he was officiating on a similar occasion when, in the middle of the service the woman paused, and having altered her mind refused to become a bride. "The poor craven bridegroom spake never a word," but began to blubber. When his speech returned, he said to the Doctor, "What mun I do?" "Do—you fool!" replied the meek pastor, "go home, and court her better."

One night an old woman brought an infant to receive private baptism into the vicar's study. The christian name was to be Francis. "Is it a boy or girl?" enquired Dr. Drake. The startling reply which he received was,—"It's nother, it's a *wench!*"

These are anecdotes to raise a smile, but they are hardly sufficiently dignified for biography. They have, however, one merit, they are strictly true.

Dr. Drake was very natty in his dress, and always looked like a clergyman who had been accustomed to associate with bishops and deans. He certainly, in one sense, did not fail to "magnify his office," and yet he was unpopular with the Todmorden people owing to his opposition to their minister, Mr. Atkinson, a good man, but more of a Methodist than a Churchman.

He used to toast "Church and King" every day after dinner, but I never heard that "in the evening he got mellow." Had he done so his neighbours in those days would have regarded it as a very venial offence.

I have seen three portraits of Dr. Drake—(1) that in the possession of Mrs. Allen, taken when he was a boy; (2) a small pencil portrait in the possession of Miss Elizabeth Dearden of the Orchard (1830), sketched by Miss Ann Fildes about 1815. The face is large, nose thick, eye brows bushy, wig powdered, and the whole not prepossessing—in canonicals; (3) a fine miniature on ivory, painted about 1788, in his wig and gown. The portrait represents him as an intelligent, handsome, and dignified ecclesiastic. There has been engraved, at a recent

period, behind the picture—"The Rev. Thomas Drake, D.D., F.S.A,. Vic. of Rochdale, *nat.* 1745, *ob.* 1819. marr. 25 Aug., 1788, Eleanora, dau. of Rob. Dobyns Yate, of Bromesberrow, Esq., *nat.* 1770, *ob.* 1829." This is in the possession of his granddaughter Mrs. Fleming, wife of William Fleming, Esq., M.D.. of Rownton Grange, Chester. 1855. There is no other portrait in the family, and of this there is no engraving.

According to the rules of physiognomy it might be inferred that Dr. Drake did not possess very exalted mental powers, and nature had, apparently, cast him in a somewhat ordinary mould, nor was there much, except a genial disposition, to compensate for a deficiency of personal attraction in the middle and towards the end of life.

Mr. Fferrand, the attorney, who knew him during all his vicariate, said "he was a very amiable man, much respected by everybody. His figure was short but rather broad, his step was rapid and shuffling, and he assumed, perhaps without much intention, considerable consequence of manner and address."

[Mrs. Bamford told Mr. Raines that Dr. Drake was a quiet man, and lived at peace with his parishioners, but his wife ruled him. She was a very uneasy woman, and always had workpeople about the vicarage. His sons were very wild, and it was thought they shortened their days by intemperance. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. i. p. 284.)]

Dr. Drake had issue as follows:—

(1) George Thomas Balguy Drake, baptised 22nd September, 1790. [He became acquainted with Lord Rodney, captain of the Herefordshire Militia, while his troop was at Rochdale, and obtained a Lieutenant's commission in that corps. He was intemperate, and died] February 13th, 1809, *æt.* 18. Buried at Rochdale, within the communion rails. M.L.

(2) Richard Henry Drake, baptised —, 1791. Dr. Drake, writing 4th December, 1815, to Mr. William Ward of Chester, the Bishop's Secretary, says—"If you happen to know of a vacant title, please to let me know, as my son is thinking of

taking orders." He altered his mind, went into [the Southampton-shire] militia regiment [in 1814], afterwards had an appointment, through Lord Lonsdale, in Dublin [obtained for him by his kinsman Dr. Zouch, a relative of the Earl of Lonsdale], where he lived extravagantly, injured his health, and dying August 21st, 1817, was buried there, being unmarried. (See *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. ix. p. 239.) *The Gent. Mag.*, vol. xcv. p. 29, says [by mistake, that] Dr. Drake had only one son, who died about 1815.

(3) Emma Catharine, the oldest child, born 25th August, 1789, and married Daniel John Niblett of Gloucester, Esq. He was in the army.

(4) Sophia Anne, born 18th December, 1792, married William Peel of Accrington House, in the county of Lancaster, Esq. She died on Sunday, March 13th, 1853, *æt* 60.

(5) Mary Eleanora, born in, 1798. She married at Rochdale, in 1820, the Rev. John Taylor Allen, M.A., at that time librarian of the Chetham Hospital and Library in Manchester. He was employed by Bishop Law to value Dr. Drake's library, which the bishop purchased and presented to St. Bees College, and this formed his introduction to the family of his future wife. He afterwards became the incumbent of Clitheroe, subsequently rector of Alresford, in the county of Essex, a Hulmean living, and died vicar of Stradbrooke, in the county of Suffolk in 1861. He was cousin of Dr. Joseph Allen successively Bishop of Bristol and Ely by whom he was presented to the rich living of Stradbrooke. He had a large family—fifteen children. His widow *ob.* December 15th, 1870. Allen's library was sold in London by Puttick and Simpson in 1867. Mrs. Allen gave Warburton's Correspondence with Balguy to my friend James Crossley, Esq., F.S.A. The letters are still unpublished, and are amongst the best productions of the bishop's marvellous pen.

[The following is an abstract of the dealings with the Rectory during Dr. Drake's vicariate :—

30 April, 1798. By Ind're of Lease between John, late Ld. Abp. of Canterbury 1 part and Wm. Young, gent. 2 pt. The s'd Abp. did demise to the s'd Wm. Young

his exors, &c., all ye said Rectory, Chapels, Glebe Lands, Tenths, Tyths, &c., for 21 y'rs, on the same terms as before.

30 April, 1798. By a Deed poll. under the hand and seal of the s'd Young he declared that the last abstracted Lease and Est. in the prem'es were only demised to him In Trust for the benefit of the s'd John Ld. Abp. of Cant., dec^{d}, his ex'ors, &c., and that he w^{d} at any time assign over the s'd Lease and Prem'es as the s'd Abp. or his ex'ors sh^{d} direct.

16th July, 1803. The s'd John Abp. of Cant., by his will of this date, app^{d} his wife Catherine Moore, Ld. Wm. Auckland, and Rich. Richards, Esq., one of his Majesty's Counsel, his exors., who prov^{d} the same in the Prerog. Court of Cant.

47 Geo. III. By an Act of Parl. then passed, entitled an act for vesting certain estates belonging to the See of Cant^{y} in Trustees for sale and for applying the purchase monies tog^{r} with other monies in the manner therein ment^{d} for enab^{g} ye Abp. of Cant. to grant Building and Repairing Leases. It was amongst other things enacted that the s'd Rectory or Pars^{e} Improp. of Rochdale, co. of Lanc. and York (amongst other Rectories and Pars. and Hered. therein ment^{d}) together with all Glebe lands, Tithes, &c. (the advowsons and right of Present^{n} to the s'd Rectories and Vicarages excepted), should, after the passing of the s'd Act be vested in the Lord High Chanc^{r} of Great Britain, or Ld. Keeper, or Commis^{r} for ye custody of the Great Seal for the time being, the Ld. Ch. Just. of ye Court of K's Bench for the time being, the Lord Bishop of London for the time being, the Lord Bp. of Winchester for the time being, to the Use of them, the s'd Trustees for ever exoner^{d} from all claim and right of the s'd Charles Ld. Abp. of Cant. and his success^{rs} as part of the temporalities of ye s'd See of Cant^{y}, except under such Leases of the same prem'es as were then in being.

Upon Trust that they sh^{d}, with the consent of the s'd Charles Ld. Abp. of C., or his successors, sell the s'd prem'es so vested in them by Public auction or private contract, either together or in parcels, and convey the fee simple to the purchasers.

16 May, 1807. By a Decree of the High Court of Chancery, made in a cause wherein the s'd John Ld. Eldon, &c., were Pl'ffs, and the s'd Charles Abp. of Cant. was Def't, it was ordered that the Pl'ffs sh^{d} be at liberty to submit to the s'd Court any contracts which they might have entered into for ye sale of ye s'd Rectory, &c.

18 March, 1812. By an Order made in the s'd cause it was ordered that it sh^{d} be referred to Mr. Thompson, one of the Masters of the s'd Court to enquire whether it w^{d} be proper that the s'd Rectory of Rochdale and prem'es sh^{d} be sold in the manner agreed upon betw' the s'd Abp. and the s'd Lessees, and Master sh^{d} from time to time report to the Court, &c.

By Articles of Agreement of this date, made betw. the s'd Ld. Abp. 1 pt., Rt. Hon'ble John Ld. Eldon, Ld. High Chancellor, &c., 2 pt., and Catherine Moore, widow, Ld. Auckland, and R^{d} Richards, Esq., Ex'ors of John Ld. Abp. of Cant., dec^{d}, 3 pt. Reciting the Lease of 1798, the will of the Abp. and the Act of Pt., and propos^{g} that the s'd Cath. and the Ex'ors sh'd accept a new Lease of He'ds for 21 y'rs in cons'on of the surr' of the s'd Ind're of Lease, and of the payment of the Fine to the s'd Abp. accord^{g} to the usual course of renewall of Church Leases. Reciting further that the s'd Parsonage by reason of its remote distance from the Diocese and

Residence of the s'd Ld. Abp. and of the great number of occupiers liable to the paym^t of the Tithes claimed in respect thereof, and the smallness of their occupat^ns, and the expence of collecting the s'd Tythes, had not for many years past been productive of any profit to the Abp. beyond the s'd Reserved Rent, nor of any profit what^r to his s'd Leesees, and that the s'd Abp. and his Trustees had been advised that any attempt to render the s'd Rectory and Prem'es more productive w^d be attended with much litigation, and probably with an expence more than equal to the profit which c^d be derived therefrom. That the owners of the Lands liable to ye payment of the s'd Tithes might be willing to give a valuable cons'on for the purchase of the s'd Tithes and to exonerate their estates therefrom and thereupon That the s'd Abp. and Trustees did proceed to a sale of the s'd rectory, subject to the s'd Lease, but that the s'd Catherine Moore, Ld. Auckland, and R^d Richard, having offered to join in such sale, and all the parties being sensible that a joint sale of their united Interests would be the most beneficial mode for the disposing thereof, they had mutually agreed to proceed therein as follows:—

The Lease granted to Wm. Young and the subsisting Term to be surr^d to the Abp., and a new Lease for 21 years to be imm^y granted to the s'd Ex'ors of John Abp. of C., dec., subject to the Pensions, &c., and prem'es sold, and the s'd 80*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.* to be duly apportioned between the sev^l lots to be sold accord^g to their value.

And the money arising from the sale to be divided into two equal moities, one moiety, with the value of the reserved Rent, to be paid into the Bank, in the manner prescribed by the s'd Act, as the price of the Reversion and Inheritance of the s'd Tithes expectant on the s'd term of 21 years: and the value of the reserved rent of 80*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.* during the s'd 21 y'rs to be fixed on each lot to be computed after the rate of 12 years purchase, and out of the remain^g moiety, deduct^g first the sum ordered to be p'd, the price of the s'd reserved Rent, there sh^d be p^d to the s'd Abp. the am't of the s'd Fine so agreed to be pd. for the Renewal of the s'd Lease, and the residue and surplus of the last mentioned moiety sh^d be p'd and rec^d by the s'd Catherine Moore, Ld. Auckland, and R^d Richards, and their ex'ors upon the Trusts, and for the purposes declared in the will of the s'd late Abp. concern^g the general residue of his personal estate.

27 March, 1812. Ind're of Lease betw. the s'd Charles Abp. of C. of 1^st^ p't, Catherine Moore, Wm. Lord Auckland, and Rich. Richards, Exors. of the late Abp. of C. of 2^nd^ p't. The s'd Abp. granted the same prem'es for 21 y'rs, on the same cond'ons.

N.B.—The last abstracted Lease to be surrendered and a new Lease granted to the Lesses bearing equal date with the purchase conveyances so as to give to the Lessees a full term of 21 years at the time of completing the Purchase.

19 August, 1813. By an Order then made by the Vice Chancellor, wherein after noticing that a proposal had lately been carried in before the Master for a sale of the s'd Rect^y and Heredit^s by auction in lots, at Rochdale. in the month of October then next app^td by the s'd master, and to prevent the s'd prem'es being sold below their real value, it had been thought advisable that a person sh^d be app^d to bid at such sale on behalf of the Pl'ffs the Trustees, and that the Purchas^rs sh^d pay a proper deposit.

A reserved bid for each lot was one of the cond'ons of Sale.

21 Aug., 1813. Mr. John Wilson was appᵈ by the Master to receive the deposits on purchase monies at the Sale, and for the apportionment of the rent of 80*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.* amongst the several lots into which the Estate was devᵈ for the purpose of this sale. There were 27 lots.

1819. WILLIAM ROBERT HAY, third son of the Hon. Edward Hay and of his wife Mary, daughter of Peter Flower, Esq., an Alderman of London, was born at Cintra, near Lisbon, 3rd December, 1761. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xix. p. 460.) His father was His Majesty's envoy extraordinary to the Court of Portugal, in 1759 (*Gent. Mag.* April, 1759, p. 191), and in that kingdom this son was born, but he was not certain as to the precise date of his birth, nor of his baptism, as no registers were kept by the ambassador's chaplain. He observed, in after years, that his father was the great friend of the Rev. John Williamson, who was his chaplain, and, as Archdeacon Coxe relates, *adored* Mr. Williamson for his simplicity, *indolence*, and goodness. At a subsequent period of his life, the want of his baptismal register had well-nigh prevented him obtaining holy orders, but Bishop Cleaver, who had known him personally for more than *twenty-three years*, eventually waived the canonical requirement, and ordained him. Mr. Hay believed that, as his parents were Episcopalians, and had a chaplain, the sacrament of baptism had been administered, but not a record of the fact was in existence. The man who could *adore* an indolent clergyman was not likely to be very solicitous to preserve such minute evidence. He was at one time Governor of the Island of Barbadoes, and doubtless was indebted to his high descent for these responsible and distinguished offices. His father was George Henry Hay, seventh Earl of Kinnoul, and his mother was Lady Abigail Harley, the beautiful daughter of Robert, first Earl of Oxford and Mortimer.

Whilst a boy William Robert Hay was sent to England, and remained for some time with his uncle and godfather, Archbishop Drummond, and was a great favourite with the Archbishop's son, who afterwards succeeded to the family estates, as the ninth Earl

of Kinnoul. Mr. Hay and his second brother, afterwards Dr. Thomas Hay, canon of Christ Church, Oxford, were educated at Westminster School, and the younger brother, at least, would be there in the year 1776, and he often spoke of Vincent and Gerard Andrewes as masters or ushers of the school. He related an anecdote of his having escaped clandestinely from the house, I think of the latter, along with two schoolfellows, and of their proceeding to Drury Lane Theatre to see Garrick perform for the *last time*, and deliver his farewell address, from the stage. This event occurred on the 10th June, 1776. The wonderful impression made by the great actor on the boy's mind was never obliterated, nor was the act of juvenile disobedience, though afterwards punished, ever regretted.

From Westminster he removed to Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. May 25, 1780, M.A. October 24, 1783. Being intended for the law, he entered the Inner Temple, 2nd May, 1781, and was called to the bar 1st February, 1788, (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xix. p. 460.) He had diligently studied English law, and chose the Northern Circuit. His first appointment in Lancashire was to the stewardship of the Manor Court of Manchester, to which he was appointed by Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart. On circuit his briefs were few, and not succeeding in his first oratorical efforts, he had the prudence to abandon the pursuit of the law, but previously he had married, on the 28th January, 1793, Mary, daughter of Mr. William Wagstaffe,* of Manchester, surgeon, and the widow of John Astley of Dukenfield, Esq. She was a lady of great personal attractions, and with a jointure of £600 a year. Owing to the alarm she had experienced from the extraordinary pressure of the crowd at her first marriage, she was married to Mr. Hay by *special* licence in

* There were three Miss Wagstaffes, all styled "the Manchester Beauties," and such they assuredly were. Mrs. Hay, I knew and I have seen miniature portraits of the others. Edward Hay, Esq., elder brother of the Rev. W. R. Hay, married Elizabeth Wagstaffe, and after his death she married General Kyd, and died *s. p.* The third daughter, Hannah, married General Charles Morgan, and died *s. p.* (See *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xix. p. 462.)

the drawing room at Dukenfield Lodge, as she herself told me. It seems, however, not to have occurred to her that the public gaze might not have been so intense at her marriage as a *widow*, lovely as she must have been, at the mature age of 33 to a lawyer about the same age, as when at 16, she had married a gay widower of 60, who, when himself a youth and friendless had, in 1759, by a strange *mésalliance* with Lady Dukenfield Daniel, a vain old dotard, who had been 32 years a widow, obtained the large estates of the ancient families of Dukenfield and Daniel, in Lancashire and Cheshire.

It was said that Mr. Hay's brother-in-law, Bishop Lewis Bagot, who is so honourably classed with Lowth by Cowper in his *Tyrocinium*, first counselled the young lawyer to turn his thoughts to holy orders; but it is somewhat remarkable that so devout a man as Bagot should have thought a person whose leanings were altogether secular, however able and accomplished in other respects, was likely to reflect credit on the sacred calling. It is true that he was shrewd, sagacious and worldly-wise, and Bishop Bagot, probably viewing them from a distant point, had formed a favourable opinion of his various merits; but he was always more at home in the civil courts than in the pulpit, and whilst great in "precedents" was not profound in theology. It may be feared that his talents were diverted from their proper and natural objects when, on the 31st December, 1797, he was ordained deacon at Chester, and priest on the 23rd September, 1798. (*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xix. p. 460.) His title was to the parish church of Ashton-under-Lyne, and he lived at Dukenfield Lodge. In 1799 and the two following years he served the small curacy of Hollinwood, near Oldham, of which the Rev. John Darbey,* M.A., was the incumbent, and for upwards of 40 years second

* John Darbey, M.A., of Corpus Christi College, Oxon, recommended by Dr. Randolph, and appointed usher of the school in 1764. On the death of Mr. Lawson in 1807, Mr. Darbey, from his precarious state of health and age, declined the office of head master of the school. He *ob.* Wednesday, 31st May, 1808, *æt.* 70. Mr. Hay had great respect for his memory. I well recollect that Mr. Hay, in November, 1832,

master of Manchester Grammar School. Mr. Hay seems to have officiated here regularly, and the entries in the Register books during three years are made in his neat hand-writing.

Whilst Mr. Hay lived at Dukenfield Lodge he had a fine aviary and was devoted to the study of ornithology. He has recorded that in 1795 he had in his aviary Virginia nightingales, Java sparrows, redpoles, woodlarks, skylarks, brown linnets, goldfinches, blackbirds, throstles, &c. (*MS. Mem. Book*). How long he cultivated this taste is not known.

After he left Hollinwood he seems to have been for a short time curate of Disley in Cheshire.

On the 15th July, 1802, he was presented to the rectory of Ackworth, in the West Riding of York, by the Hon. Bragge Bathurst, a family connection, and at that time Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and there Mr. Hay chiefly resided during the remainder of his life.

In July of the same year he was elected chairman of the Salford Quarter Sessions, and continued in the same office under the Act of 1805.

On the 7th November, 1806, Dr. Markham gave him the prebend of Dunnington, in York Cathedral, and his arms are in the great window of the library of the dean and chapter.

He had been in the commission of the peace for Lancashire, Cheshire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire for many years, and was also a deputy-lieutenant of the first county. He distinguished himself by his firmness and intrepidity as a magistrate during the political disturbances of 1812 and 1813 owing to the Luddites and their riots, and was thought to be rather too eager to suppress these misguided men, and also their illegal acts.

[The following cutting from a Manchester paper shows the opinions held in some quarters about Mr. Hay at this time:—

attended the funeral of Mrs. Cotes, of Liverpool, who was a daughter of Mr. Darbey, and was buried in Manchester Collegiate Church, and he said that her relations, Dr. Darbey and his sister Miss Peggy, "were very worthy good people." He thought they were not connected with Mary Darbey (Robinson), the Prince of Wales's *perdita*.

OGDEN'S LETTERS TO THE TREASON-HUNTING MUNICIPALITY OF MANCHESTER.

9th January, 1819.

PRELUDE TO MR. HAY'S LETTER.

Justice Hey in the Chair,
Of the town Lord Mayor,
And divulger of the law;
When he winks, Heaven blinks,
When he speaks, Hell quakes,
Earth's globe is but his taw.
Cock of the school,
He bears despotic rule,
Then stretching out his maw,
Should any dare reply,
Be silent he will cry,
I have sentenced you by law.

TO THE REV. MR. HAY, CHAIRMAN OF THE MANCHESTER QUARTER SESSIONS.

Sir,—Your townsmen (as they call themselves) having presented to you a splendid gilt cup, with an eulogium engraven thereon, expressive of their high sense of your learning, great ability, sound judgment as a magistrate, and your meritorious conduct in that capacity; pray, develop those deserts, as both myself and a great majority of my townsmen, are at a loss to discover any *merit* displayed, to entitle you to such a favour. But lest you should refuse to comply with this modest request to point out your *merits*, I will take the liberty to blazon your *de-merits*. As a magistrate, you have taken an active part in committing to prison a great number of not only *innocent* but *worthy* men; and this assertion, I presume, you will not deny; for *innocent* they must be; as the law honourably acquitted those sent to Lancaster, at a *great expence* to the county; therefore, in this instance, where is your *judgment?* Those sent to Lord Sidmouth were strictly examined by the Privy Council; and, after nine months' solitary confinement, were liberated and rewarded; so that *they* also must be innocent. Where, then, is your *ability* or *capacity?* And had not you and your colleagues been indemnified for such conduct, by an Act of Parliament, both *you* and *they* would have been proceeded against for false imprisonment, and made to smart; and then your cups, when on the table, would have been a stain upon your character, and held you up to the derision of every worthy man.

Those who have been unjustly persecuted for the love of their country and sovereign hold you and your colleagues in abhorrence, having only acted in unison with the patriots of old, and the English history applauds their conduct. They were only resisting the gigantic strides of the modern Epsoms and Dudleys; nor will they stop till they see their enemies suffer for their temerity.

The scripture teaches us to be content in the station wherein Providence has placed us. But this lesson you have disregarded; for you were first a lawyer, but dis-

contented; next a clergyman, still discontented; and now you add to the lawyer and parson, the office of magistrate. Had I, as a plebeian, acted as you have done, by committing innocent men to prison, I should not have been presented with a gilt cup, but have experienced public execration, and suffered the penalties of the law. Let us have equal justice, and then we may rest satisfied, by seeing our perverse enemies exalted in the pillory, or flogged at the whipping post.

Reformers, be not dismayed; press on to victory; posterity will bless your name, and children unborn will hail you in their songs.

Let your morality be conspicuous, and your proceedings strictly constitutional; and then you may, as you did before, set at nought the barbed arrows of the Manchester Municipality, (though they have been rewarded by fulsome gold cups) whose reward is not worth a rush, and whose honour a beggar's dog would bark at.

W. OGDEN.

It was in 1819 that [Mr. Hay] was brought so prominently before the public in connection with the riots in Manchester, arising out of the popular demand for reform of the House of Commons.

Political meetings of a most alarming character, and addresses of the most seditious and inflammatory description (which I well remember, although at that time only a boy, but living in one of the most disaffected towns in Lancashire) were delivered by the most reckless and noisy demagogues. These men undertook to settle the gravest imperial questions, and yet could not manage their own petty affairs. I still recollect the extravagant language, the violent denunciations, the impossible demands of the lowest and most ignorant of the people, and the wide-spread terror which prevailed amongst the well-affected and industrious classes, although nearly fifty years have since passed away. The laws and institutions of the country, and those who were their administrators, were held up as the bane of the country, and military drilling and open warfare were the remedies proposed and practised, regardless whether they would kill or cure the social evils of which the Reformers complained. The depressed state of trade and agriculture, the introduction of obnoxious machinery, high taxation owing to the late war, were all lost sight of, or ascribed to the King's ministers! Mr. Hay at this time was one of the most active and influential magistrates in the

county. Being chairman of the quarter sessions for Salford Hundred, he was at Manchester on the 16th August, 1819, when a great political meeting was held in favour of parliamentary reform, at a place afterwards called Peterloo, near St. Peter's Church in that town. A circular from the Home Office on the 7th July had recommended great vigilance on the part of the local magistracy, and the Cheshire Yeomanry, a troop of the Manchester Yeomanry, six troops of the 15th Hussars, two guns, and nearly the whole of the 31st Regiment were on the spot and under arms. Military drilling had been practised on the hills between Lancashire and Yorkshire in the grey of the morning, and the people, amounting to nearly sixty thousand, marched into Manchester from every direction for thirty miles around, six abreast, with bands of music, and colours flying. The magistrates deemed the meeting for such a purpose illegal, and resolved to prevent it by arresting Mr. Hunt, its avowed leader, before the proceedings began, and to enable the warrant for his apprehension to be executed, the military were required by the magistrates to clear the way to the hustings. The Manchester Yeomanry being nearest at hand, adopted the unlucky resolution of advancing two by two at a walk. They were soon detached, hemmed in, and some of them unhorsed. Mr. Hulton, of Hulton Park, the magistrate, required the commanding officer of the Hussars to "disperse the crowd," and the word "forward" being given, the Hussars came up at a trot, the trumpet sounded the charge, and the horsemen advancing wheeled into line, and speedily drove the multitude before them. The dense mass was thrown into dreadful alarm; numbers were thrown down, and some were suffocated by the pressure, and although the Hussars acted with the utmost forbearance, yet four or five persons were pressed to death and about twenty injured by sabre wounds, whilst seventy in all were more or less hurt. Hunt and ten of his friends were arrested and committed on a charge of high treason and conspiracy to alter the law by force and threats.

[The following letter, describing the Reform meeting, written

in the evening of the day on which it occurred, was addressed by Dr. Hay to Lord Sidmouth, Secretary of State:—

Manchester, August 16, 1819.

My Lord,—Mr. Norris being very much fatigued by the harrassing duty of this day, it becomes mine now to inform your lordship of the proceedings which have been had in consequence of the proposal put forward for a meeting. The special committee have been in constant attendance for the last three days, and contented themselves till they saw what the complexion of the meeting might be, or what circumstances might arise, with coming to this determination only, which they adopted in concurrence with some of the most intelligent gentlemen of the town, not to stop the numerous columns which were from various roads expected to pour in, but to allow them to reach the place of their destination. The assistance of the military was, of course, required, and arrangements, in consequence, made with them of such description as might be applicable to various circumstances. About eleven o'clock the magistrates, who were very numerous, repaired to a house whence they might see the whole of the proceedings of the meeting. A body of special constables took their ground, about 200 in number, close to the hustings. From them there was a line of communication to the house where we were. Mr. Trafford was so good as to take the situation of attending Colonel L'Estrange, the commanding officer. From eleven till one o'clock the various columns arrived, attended by flags, each by two or three flags, and there were four, if not more, Caps of Liberty. The ensigns were of similiar description as those displayed on former occasions, with this addition, that one had a bloody pike represented on it, and another, "Equal Representation or Death." There was no appearance of arms or pikes, but great plenty of sticks and staves, and every column marched in regular files of three or four deep, attended with conductors, music, &c. The most powerful accession was in the last instance, when Hunt and his party came in. But long before this the magistrates had felt a decided conviction that the whole bore the appearance of insurrection; that the array was such as to terrify all the King's subjects, and was such as no legitimate purpose could justify. In addition to their own sense of the meeting, they had very numerous depositions from the inhabitants as to their fears for the public safety, and at length a man deposed as to the parties who were approaching, attended by the heaviest column. On a barouche box was a woman in white, who was a Mrs. Gant from Stockport, and who, it is believed, had a Cap of Liberty. In the barouche were Hunt, Johnson, Knight, and Moorhouse, of Stockport. As soon as those parties were ascertained a warrant was issued to apprehend them. The troops were mustered, and Nadin, preceding the Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry, executed it. While the cavalry was forming, a most marked defiance of them was acted by the Reforming part of the mob. However, they so far executed their purpose as to apprehend Hunt and Johnson on the hustings. Knight and Moorhouse, in the moment, escaped. They also took on the hustings Saxton and Sykes, who is the writer to y^e^ *Manchester Observer*, and which Saxton had been before addressing the mob. The parties thus apprehended were brought to the house where the magistrates were. *In the meantime the Riot Act was read*, and the mob was completely dispersed, but not without very serious and lamentable effects. Hunt, &c.,

were brought down to the New Bailey; two magistrates and myself, having promised him protection, preceded them. We were attended by special constables and some cavalry. The parties were lodged in the New Bailey, and since that have been added to them Knight and Moorhouse. On inquiry it was found that many had suffered from various instances. One of the Manchester Yeomanry, John Hulme, was, after the parties were taken, struck by a brickbat; he lost his power over his horse, and is supposed to have fractured his skull by a fall from his horse. I am afraid that he is since dead, if not there are no hopes of his recovery. A special constable of the name of Ashworth has been killed—cause unknown; and four women appear to have lost their lives by being pressed by the crowd: these, I believe, are the fatal effects of the meeting. A variety of instances of sabre wounds occurred, but I hope none mortal. Several pistols were fired by the mob, but as to their effect, except in one instance, deposed to before Col. Fletcher, we have no account. We cannot but deeply regret all this serious (*sic*) attendant on this transaction, but we have the satisfaction of witnessing the very grateful and cheering countenances of the whole town; in fact, they consider themselves as saved by our exertions. All the shops were shut, and, for the most part, continued so all the evening. The capture of Hunt took place before two o'clock, and I forgot to mention that all their colours, drums, &c., were taken or destroyed. Since that I have been to the Infirmary, and find myself justified in making the report I have; but Mr. Norris now tells me that one or two more than I have mentioned may have lost their lives. The parties apprehended will have their cases proceeded on to-morrow, but it appears there may arise difficulties as to the nature of some of their crimes, on which it may be necessary to consult Government. The whole committee of magistrates will assemble to-morrow as usual. During the afternoon and part of the evening parts of the town have been in a very disturbed state, and numerous applications made for military. These have been supplied, but in some cases have, in the Irish part of the town, been obliged to fire, I trust without any bad effect as to life, in any instance; at present everything seems quiet, the reports agree with that, and I hope we shall have a quiet night. I have omitted to mention that the active part of the meeting may be said to have come in wholly from the country, and that it did not consist of less than 20,000 men, &c. The flag on which was "Equal Representation or Death" was a black one, and in addition, on the same side had "No Borough Mongering," "Unite and be Free," at the bottom, "Saddleworth, Lees, and Mosley Union." On the reverse, "No Corn Laws," "Taxation without Representation is Unjust and Tyrannical." On the Middleton flag was, "Let us Die like Men, and not be Sold like Slaves." Reverse, "Liberty is the Birthright of Man." I close my letter a quarter before eleven. Everything remains quiet — many of the troops have returned to barracks, with the consent of the magistrates. I have to apologise to your lordship for the haste in which this is written, but I trust that the haste will be naturally accounted for.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, with sincere regret,
Your lordship's faithful and obedient servant,
Signed, W. R. HAY.

(*Lanc. MSS.*, vol. i. pp. 39–42.)]

Lord Sidmouth, as Home Secretary, perceived that a crisis had arrived, and that the magistrates in ordering the dispersion of the crowd before any acts of violence had been committed would be made the subjects of unbounded obloquy, generously determined to take his share of the responsibility connected with it. He conveyed to the magistrates the thanks of the Crown for the course they had pursued—honestly and firmly pursued—without inquiring too minutely whether they might have performed their duty a little better or a little worse. A verdict was obtained at York in April, 1820, against Hunt and others, and sentences of imprisonment for limited terms passed.

Lord Eldon thought the meeting was an overt act of high treason, and that the justification of the magistrates was complete.

The Rev. W. N. Molesworth, in his "History of the Reform Bill" of 1832, condemns the conduct of the magistrates, and lightly regards their defence of law and order. Samuel Bamford, in his "Life of a Radical" (and he was a partisan of Hunt and the Manchester Reformers), is less disposed to justify their proceedings at that turbulent period. Sir Archibald Alison thinks the conduct of the magistrates, though not illegal, was open to exception in point of prudence, and though properly and courageously approved of by the Government at the time, should not be followed on similar occasions. They had issued no proclamation before warning the meeting that its object was illegal and would be dispered by force, nor could they issue such a proclamation as the avowed object of parliamentary reform was legal. They had not commenced the proceedings when the dispersion began, so that nothing had been said on the spot to justify it.* The Riot Act had been read by order of Mr. Hay, but the hour required to justify the dispersion of a peaceable assembly had not elapsed. No acts of violence or depredation had been committed by the crowd, and they were innocent,

* Mr. Hay said, "Saxton had been addressing the mob." See his letter to Lord Sidmouth.

whatever their leaders might be. In a word, the conduct of the magistrates, though legal, seems to have been ill-judged, and their measures inexpedient, but great allowance must be made for unprofessional men suddenly placed in such trying circumstances, and as their error, if error there was, was one of judgment only, there can be but one opinion on the noble and intrepid course which Government pursued on the occasion. (Alison's *Hist. of Europe*, from 1815 to 1852, vol. ii. pp. 403–10, 8vo., 1854).

There is a full account of the Manchester riots in 1819 in "The Life of Lord Sidmouth," by Dr. Pellew, Dean of Norwich, 3 vols., 8vo., 1847. On this event the *Quarterly Review*, No. clviii. p. 554, observes:—"It is impossible to read Sir William Jolliffe's letter, himself an actor in the scene he describes, and indeed the whole narrative of this series of events, without feelings of wonder, shame, and indignation at the insane turbulence of the people, and the factious violence of parties—when Hunt was a patriot and almost a power—and the lawful and even lenient suppression of this Manchester riot was stigmatised to an infuriate populace as a Peterloo massacre. The Government boldly, in defiance of the clamour both in Parliament and out, thanked the Manchester magistrates for their spirit, dismissed Lord Fitzwilliam from the Lieutenancy of Yorkshire for calling a public meeting to censure the proceedings, and carried through Parliament six Acts to arrest and punish libellous, seditious, and treasonable practices," all of which were rife at that period."*

* My old friend, the Rev. W. Topham Hobson, M.A., formerly Mr. Hay's curate, told me to-day (August 7th, 1852) that Mr. Hay frequently spoke of the distinguished honour conferred upon him in the presence of Lord Eldon, by Sir John Copley, the Attorney-General (afterwards Chancellor Lyndhurst), when dining, in October, 1819, at Lord Liverpool's. Sir John stood up, and in a marked manner asked Mr. Hay to take wine with him, the first of any one at the table, to the evident satisfaction of Lord Eldon. Sir John afterwards conversed with Mr. Hay on the state of the manufacturing districts, and the "Seditious Meetings Prevention Act," introduced by him (Sir John) into the House on December 2nd, 1819, with scarcely any notice, owed its origin, and some of its clauses, to the suggestions of Mr. Hay.

In an article from the pen of Canon Parkinson, in the *Manchester Courier*, December 14th, 1839, we read:—"It is painful at this day to look back to the melancholy scenes which were enacted on the celebrated 16th of August, but we believe that all right thinking men and real patriots, of whatever shade of political opinion, are now ready to confess that Manchester owed then as much to the firmness and admirable coolness and decision of Mr. Hay, as Newport has done since to the patriotic conduct of Sir Thomas Phillips."

All the broadsides, seditious papers, newspapers, letters, &c. [connected with the meeting, were collected], in a large folio volume by Mr. Hay, and are now in my possession. Mr. Dearden had the York trial, with *MS.* notes by Mr. Hay.

In less than a month from the time of this meeting, the valuable living of Rochdale fell vacant by the death of Dr. Drake, and although great efforts were made to procure it from the Archbishop of Canterbury for the Rev. Dr. Thomas Dunham Whitaker, vicar of Blackburn, other and more successful efforts were made to obtain the benefice for Mr. Hay. Strong recommendations were made to Lord Sidmouth by the municipal authorities and the respectable inhabitants of Manchester in his favour, to induce the Prime Minister to ask the Archbishop for the vicarage, and the appeal was granted.

Dr. J. W. Whitaker, vicar of Blackburn, told me that Archbishop Sutton had offered the living to Dr. D'Oyley, but finding it less in value than Lambeth, which had been promised to him, he declined it. It was long reported in Rochdale that the living was then given to Dr. Mant, who resigned it on the promise of an Irish Bishoprick by Lord Sidmouth or Lord Liverpool. It is true that Mant became Bishop of Killaloe in 1820, but I was told by Archbishop Howley that Mant never had Rochdale offered to him, as at that time he held the better living of St. Botolph's, Bishopgate Street, and had long been designed for a Bishop, both by Lord Liverpool and himself (at that time Bishop of London). In 1824 Mr. Hay had a serious attack of illness,

and his death was expected, and Dr. Whitaker told me that had Rochdale fallen vacant, he should have succeeded to it, as the senior chaplain of Archbishop Manners Sutton. It was said to be worth £1,800 a year.

The exasperation of the Reformers towards Mr. Hay, as a clerical magistrate, was unbounded when it was found that he had been rewarded with such promotion. There was an universal yell of execration throughout the ranks of Liberalism, and various efforts were made to prevent his institution. Dr. Law, the Bishop of Chester, partook of the popular feeling, and required a variety of evidence, not merely technical and bearing upon pluralities, but upon moral character and clerical fitness. (See *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xxii. p. 121.)

His nomination is dated Lambeth, 3rd January, 1820. (*Ibid.*) The ebullition of wrath on the part of political opponents never passed away, but during the whole of his vicariate he was assailed by gross personal insults, menaces, and frivolous opposition of a vindictive description, from his disaffected parishioners, and from what he called "the sovereign majesty of the people." He said few public men had received more anonymous letters, containing the basest charges and the most fearful threatenings, than himself, and he had them all carefully preserved in bundles. Some of them were indeed atrocious. Mr. Hay said the letters had never disturbed his peace of mind for a moment, and if they had done so, he should have concluded that he deserved the punishment the writers designed to inflict upon him. The epigrams here preserved are from his own copies.

HAY-MAKING AT CHRISTMAS, 15TH JANUARY, 1820.

Well may the men of Rochdale say,
That certain trades alone are thriving;
Who pay so high a price for *Hay?*
Whose *butcher* gets so good a living!

ON THE NEW-MADE HAY.

Why Sidmouth made his Hay so quick,
I'll tell you if you will;
He sold the rubbish to Old Nick,
To pay his Butcher's bill.

THE ONE THING NEEDFUL, OR DEVOTION THE ROAD TO PREFERMENT, 5TH FEBRUARY, 1820.

Says Hull* to Hay,
Come tell me pray,
The sure way to promotion;
It can't be Christian piety,
Nor meekness, nor sobriety,
According to my notion.
Quoth Hay to Hull,
You're mighty dull,
Not yet to know the way.
Devotion is the thing I'll prove,
I don't mean to the Lord above,
But to Lord Castlereagh.

THE ROCHDALE VICAR, 5TH AUGUST, 1820.

The arch-cook at Lambeth four dishes has sent,
To feast us at Rochdale—how kind!
The first was plain *Wray*, with a sauce of content,
The second was venison *Hind:*
The next that he sent was a very fine *Drake*,
A dainty nice fowl in its way;
On the Clerical Chairman no comments I'll make,
For a beast is the best judge of *Hay*.
We have had a full feast of fish, flesh, and fowl,
But alas! they have all passed away;
And the Parish of Rochdale now grumble and growl,
For no one can relish *Old Hay*.
(F. DUCKWORTH ASTLEY, ESQ.—Mr. Hay's Step-son.)†

Private.—The Rev. Mr. Hay, Manchester.

Being Saturday, I undertake to send this to Rochdale.—R. H. W. Return this from Rochdale if Mr. Hay is not there.

Sir,—Enclosed is an Epitaph which I think will answer you. Your conduct at the Manchester massacre is not forgotten. Your patron Castlereagh used to say, "The system works well." It worked *well* when you got the valuable living you have for your murderous conduct. VERITAS.

* The Rev. Mr. Hull, of Liverpool, had lately distinguished himself by his outrageous fulminations from the Pulpit.

† [In a *MS.* note by Jesse Lee, inserted in a copy of Baines' *Lancashire*, in the Free Library, it is said that this epitaph was suggested by Thomas Waugh and written by Thomas Finney, afterwards chief constable, and corrected by James Greenwood, schoolmaster.]

AN EPITAPHIC SATIRE,

Intended to celebrate the Death of whenever that wish'd for Event shall happen, and will answer for all the domineering, cruel-hearted, purse-proud Hypocrites in the Kingdom.

WHILST on the EARTH, with arrogance I trod,
Gain was my CREED, a *Guinea* was my GOD;
Although for *Character*, on Sunday *twice*
I went to CHURCH,—and canted about "Vice,"
And would not, for the wealth of kingdoms, play
A *card*, or *sing* upon the Sabbath* day!!

I could not, whilst upon that earth, endure
The very *name* of any one was *poor*,
Altho' a saint—but bow'd to ev'ry *bitch*,
And ev'ry *dog*, no matter who, if *rich*.
And did I most especially detest,
Abhor, yea, *execrate* the *meanly dress'd!*

O'er *meekness*, which I always did despise,
It gave me great delight to *tyrannize*;
But was I as submissive and as mean,
When treated with hauteur and with disdain?
For notwithstanding all my wealth and dress,
I sorely felt my *mental* NOTHINGNESS.

I felt that FORTUNE really was *blind*,
Wealth to connect with such an *abject mind*,
And envied I with all my wealth, those men,
Whom GOD had gifted with a tongue and pen;
(The tongue and pen, which nothing can controul,
And worse than scorpions, sting the guilty soul.)
So was the man who moulders in this grave,
Alternately, the Tyrant, and the SLAVE!!

Objects of my derision and my hate
Implacable were the *unfortunate*,
Whom I call'd "swindlers," "cheats," and ev'ry name
Could bring on, undeserved misfortune—*shame.* †
For were "*misfortunes*," in those "*moral*" times,
In which *I* liv'd—*unpardonable crimes*,
And all *humane* consideration *then*,

* Sabbath, so called by all Hypocrites.

† That very *moral* and *humane* Act call'd the Vagrant Act, which denounces poverty as a crime. This Epitaph will answer for the members of the Vice Society, the Bridge-street Gang, and all the Overseers of Parishes, and Parish Officers in the Kingdom. (*Vincit omnia veritas.*)

Was for the *brute* creation, not for MEN,
Who, if misfortune left without a meal,
The LAW, as "*vagabonds*," did send to JAIL!

At PUBLIC meetings no one ever miss'd
MY name, upon the charitable list,
But I may just as confidently say,
I ne'er gave sixpence, privately away,
And that my left-hand (though it is forbid
By scripture) always knew what *t'other* did!

NOW, now, alas! departed from the *quick*,
I find the god I worshipp'd was OLD NICK;
And for the temporary use of gold,
I've life *eternal* forfeited and sold.

I find, that when the sexton plac'd me here,
Not one I left behind me shed a tear,
But all rejoic'd, who either heard or read,
That I who lately domineer'd, was dead!

I find my heirs are squandering as fast
As e'er they can, the riches I amass'd,
I find (a consequence that I foresaw)
My wife and family embroil'd in law;
I find that with each guinea in my purse,
I *likewise* put some injur'd body's curse,
And that my o'ergrown property, which cost
My soul her *death*, is likely to be—*lost*.

I find that those I injur'd, when alive,
As if oppression was a *compost*, THRIVE;
That whilst I *rot*, this grave my sole estate,
THEY life enjoy, and wealthy grow, and great.
I find that many I refus'd to give
Relief to, NOW, in peace and plenty live;
That those who starv'd, the whilst I swill'd and cramm'd,
Have plenty now, whilst I am dead and damn'd;
That those who were the objects of my scorn
And insolence, society adorn.
My proud, my insolent, expressions quote,
Tell of my life, the various anecdote,
Make me the object of their sneer and scoff,
My *vulgar consequence* and *airs* take off,
At recollection of my folly laugh,
And write for me the caustic epitaph.
And oh! I find, that NOW reduc'd to dust,
All speak of me with—HORROR and DISGUST!

[The following lines may be appropriately inserted here :—]

ODE TO A PLOTTING PARSON.

February 26, 1820.

Come over the hills out of York, Parson Hay,
Thy living is goodly, thy mansion is gay,
Thy flock will be scatter'd if longer thou stay,
Our Shepherd, our Vicar, the good Parson Hay.

O, fear not, for thou shalt have plenty indeed,
Far more than a shepherd so humble will need,
Thy wage shall be ample, two thousand or more,
Which tythes and exactions shall bring to thy store.

And if thou should'st wish for a little increase,
The lambs thou may'st sell, and the flocks thou may'st fleece ;
The market is good, and the prices are high,
And the butchers are ready with money to buy.

Thy dwelling it stands on the ridge of the hill,
And the town lies below it so quiet and still ;
With a church at thy elbow for preaching and pray'r,
And a rich congregation to slaver and stare.

And here like a good loyal priest thou shalt reign,
The cause of thy patrons with zeal to maintain,
And the poor and the hungry shall faint at thy word,
As thou doom'st them to hell in the name of the Lord.

And here is a barrack with soldiers enow,
The deed which thou willest all ready to do ;
They will rush on the people in martial array,
If thou but thy blood-dripping cassock display.

And Meager shall ever be close by thy side,
With a brave troop of yoemanry ready to ride ;
For the steed shall be saddled, the sword shall be bare,
And there shall be none the defenceless to spare.

Then the joys that thou felt upon St. Peter's field,
Each week or each month some new outrage shall yield,
And thy eye which is failing shall brighten again,
And pitiless gaze on the wounded and slain.

Then thy Prince, too, shall thank thee and add to thy wealth,
Thou shalt preach down sedition and pray for his health,
And Sidmouth, and Canning, and sweet Castlereagh,
Shall write pleasant letters to dear cousin Hay.

Each dungeon, now silent, shall sound with a groan,
For the captive shall mourn in its darkness alone,
And the chain shall be polish'd which now hangs in rust,
And brightened the bar which is mould'ring in dust.

And the tears of the virgin in torrents shall flow,
Unheeded her tears, and unpitied her woe,
The blush of her cheek, like a rose-bud, shall fade,
For the youth whom thy villainous arts have betray'd.

For thy spies they shall lurk by the window at night
Like bloodhounds to smell out the prey of thy spite,
And the laugh shall be hush'd and the townsmen shall meet,
But none e'en his neighbour shall venture to greet.

And now gloomy famine shall stalk through the land,
No comfort the poor shall receive at thy hand,
And the widow shall curse thee while life doth remain,
And the orphan shall lisp back her curses again.

And the night wind shall sound like a scream in thine ear,
And the tempest shall shake thee with terrible fear,
And the zephyr which fans thee shall bring thee no cure,
It shall whisper a tale which thou canst not endure.

And the day shall arise, but its joys will be fled,
And the season of darkness shall add to thy dread,
And a mark of affliction thou ever shalt be,
And none shall partake of thy troubles with thee.

Middleton, January 12, 1820. B.

These severe lines were doubtless written by Samuel Bamford, the author of a "Life of a Radical," and of whom I have so good an opinion that I think he would, in after years, regret having penned them. [Mr. Raines adds] My conjecture was corect. See the letter of *Elijah Ridings*.

Dr. Whitaker had looked with some reasonable hope for the vicarage of Rochdale, as appears from his letter to Mr. James Maden. He was astonished on finding that the living had been given to Mr. Hay. Whitaker himself had been an active magistrate, and was conspicuous for his energy during the Reform Riots of 1819. He had preached and published a striking sermon at Blackburn, where he was not very popular, on the 11th July, 1819, on occasion of a seditious meeting being held in that

town. He had probably been charged with being a pluralist, as he intimated that he would cease to be one should he become vicar of Rochdale. (See his *Letters, penes me.*) Mr. Hay had no sympathy with Dr. Whitaker, and considered him "dictatorial, over-bearing, and insolent."

At the Quarter Sessions at Preston, August, 1820, Sir T. D Hesketh in the chair, Mr. Hay very ably vindicated the conduct of Mr. Higgin, the keeper of Lancaster Castle, which had been called in question, but the charges having been investigated were found to be groundless, and his political assailants were defeated. Mr. Hay moved, and the Rev. T. T. Hornby, rector of Winwick, seconded, that a copy of the resolution be transmitted to the Secretary of State, and be published in the newspapers, which was carried *nem. con.* (Mr. Hay's *Book*, p. 77.) Mr. Higgin was father to the Irish bishop of that name.

It was said by Dr. Channing that an anecdote of a man is worth a volume of biography, and the following incidents in Mr. Hay's life may illustrate his character. They are transcribed from some rough notes.

Mr. Hay was induced to take orders by his prospect of preferment from his brother-in-law Bishop Bagot, and Mrs. Hay told me that the best living in the Diocese of St. Asaph would have been given to Mr. Hay, but the Bishop died six weeks before it fell vacant.

Mr. Hay regarded Bishop Bagot as a model bishop. He was a diffident and conscientious man. Mr. Hay had a miniature portrait of the bishop, in crayons, said to be the only portrait of him ever taken. He was a delicate, consumptive-looking man. It is now [1856] in the possession of Mrs. Hankin (sole surviving child of Mr. Hay) of Wyeland House, near Hereford.

When Sir William Cockburn was appointed Dean of York by his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Peel, he immediately travelled down to the old city to enquire, it was said, about its emoluments. He arrived late at night, ascertained the particulars, and started for London early the next morning. Mr. Hay, one of the pre-

bendaries, a man as famous for his dry wit as his dry old port, happened to dine with some of the canons that day. When the cloth was withdrawn, after alluding to the rapid movements of that bird of passage, their superior officer, he added he would propose his health as an old friend with a new face, "Dean Swift." The canons roared with laughter, and vowed that Mr. Hay was the real "great gun," always well primed and loaded, and going straight to the mark. The hit told and took, and Dean Cockburn was known as "Dean Swift" to the end of his days. (*Todmorden Advertiser*, June 12th, 1858.) He shot wide of the mark, for although one dean was his *butt*, he little resembled the other.

Mr. Hay disliked the Dean of York, and mentioned that when some improvements in the minster yard were once projected, the Dean, in a summary and arbitrary manner, withheld the accustomed proceeds of certain stalls, and appropriated them to the improvements without the consent of the prebendaries.

Mr. Hay studied with a special pleader in London, and knew all the great lawyers of the middle of the 18th century. When he entered upon the Northern Circuit his first brief was connected with a political offence, and his client, to adopt his own phrase, was "awfully criminal." The young counsel laboured hard, spoke for a considerable time, and having exhausted both his rhetoric and physical powers, was obliged to leave the court. So great was his excitement that on reaching his lodgings he fainted, and did not recover his accustomed health for some weeks. He was, however, consoled by finding that instead of his first effort being a complete failure, a verdict was, *very improperly*, given for his client. He said, "I remember speaking with a *fluency* I never afterwards possessed, but *precision* and *law* were both wanting."

In 1823 there passed a General Gaol Act, which required justices to appoint governors, chaplains, and other officers, and in carrying out the Act at Preston the magistrates there did appoint the officers to the Salford House of Correction; but Mr. Hay—who, though not then the chairman, was a very active

magistrate of the hundred — at once saw the difficulty into which the magistrates of the hundred would be brought, and in 1824 he moved a motion by which it was resolved that the Annual General Session at Preston was incompetent to make appointments for the Hundred of Salford, and the house of correction there. Consequently no such appointments were made at the Annual General Sessions in 1825, nor has any appointment to the Salford gaol been since then made at Preston. Thus they gained the advantage of being directly able to control the repairs, alterations, and conduct of the gaol, with the exclusive right of appointing their own officers and visiting justices, and to have the entire and independent administration of their own affairs. (Ashworth's Speech, 1st June, 1858, on Mr. Oven's appointment as Chairman of Quarter Sessions, Manchester.)

On the passing of the Gaol Act, 4 Geo. IV., c. 64, a special session was held in Salford, 13th November, 1823, for the purpose of putting the Act into execution, and on that occasion appointments were made of visiting justices, and also of chaplains, with salaries, of Lancaster Castle, &c. But at the next Court of Quarter Session, held at Salford, 19th Jan., 1824, an appointment of visiting justices of the New Bailey Prison was made, and the court resolved that the Court of General Special Session was incompetent to appoint the chaplain of the New Bailey, but awarded a salary for the next quarter, and on the 3rd May, 1824, appointed a committee to enquire into the duties of chaplain, and at the Adjourned Annual Session, September 9, 1824, the Rev. W. R. Hay, one of the magistrates of the Hundred of Salford, and late chairman of the Salford Sessions, gave notice of motion for the annual session in the following year, "That the appointment of the Court of Special General Session in November last of the Rev. Robert Dallas to be chaplain of the New Bayley Prison, and fixing the amount of his salary, be rescinded, unless an arrangement be made between the J.P.'s of the Hundred of Salford and Mr. Dallas in the meantime." In October, 1824, he resigned his situation, and in January, 1825, the court appointed

the Rev. Henry Fielding his successor. Since this period the magistrates acting within the Salford Hundred at the sessions holden at Salford have exercised the exclusive right of appointing all the officers of the New Bailey Prison. ("Report 1," Dec., 1852, Mr. Hay's *Pocket Book MS.*)

In February, 1820, he relinquished the salary of chairman of the Quarter Sessions on becoming vicar of Rochdale, but continued to hold the office of chairman until 31st January, 1823. (*Mem. Book.*)

He was an admirable chairman — never hurried, easy, persevering, and firm. No one who ever saw him take the chair at a vestry meeting on the appointment of churchwardens or the levying of a church rate — two fearful contests in his latter days at Rochdale — will ever forget the coolness and perfect self-possession with which he listened to the acrimonious observations and indecent outrages of rabid political opponents. The storm of cries, hideous exclamations, and unearthly noises, were all disregarded by him. He was stern in look, pertinacious in his opinions, and would not be moved by the rabble which disgraced themselves and their cause on these occasions. He heard the scurrilous attacks made upon the Church, her rulers, and himself *personally*, in silence. But when he arose, at the proper moment, to reply to the real subject before the meeting, his dignity and courage commanded silence, and perhaps respect. Vulgar assertions and loose arguments were scattered to the winds with a force neither to be resisted nor evaded, and Fielden (afterwards in parliament) and his neighbour Helliwell were often daunted by his superior knowledge of the subject, and the points connected with it. His bold spirit whilst fighting the battle of the Church single-handed (for he had no leading parishioners helping him) was never dismayed. His remarks were concise, always bearing upon the points at issue, and made from pencil notes which he had taken during the contentions and debates of the rival orators. He pointed out inconsistencies, bad law, miserable subterfuges, but never noticed the personal attacks upon himself.

The sovereignty of the people generally prevailed, and the Church and its *military* ecclesiastic suffered. At these fearful times the old parish church, which was the arena of these unhallowed scenes, appeared to one like the ark brought into the camp of Israel amidst the tumultuous shouts of an unsanctified army, and many trembled for her fate. On these occasions "Peterloo" (his *sobriquet*) was in every man's mouth.

Mr. Hay never seems to have been known in his parish as a clergyman, but only as a lawyer and a politician.

It was observed to his prejudice that the two first sermons which he preached in Rochdale church were by Dr. Blair.

His sermons were of the old high-church school. He dwelt much on the importance of a moral life, and considered that no man ought to regard himself as a religious character except his life was strictly in accordance with his creed, and that even the foibles of the world were avoided. There was nothing to be said against his view, except his own practice. Some of the members of the congregation thought that he sometimes urged morality too much as a ground of acceptance with God, and that he overlooked some of the great cardinal doctrines of the Church. I do not think so.*

He sometimes referred in his sermons to passing events, and, although his oratory was devoid of attraction, he preached a good sermon on the accidental death of the Right Hon. W. Huskisson, on the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool railway, in 1830, and on the death of King George IV. He seldom said prayers when in residence, and seldom attended church in the afternoon. His sermons were adapted to the festivals and great days of the Church, and were excellent in point of doctrine and language. They were exactly twenty-five minutes' sermons, and he seems to have been of the old monk's opinion, who constantly maintained that "brevis oratio penetrat cælos, et longa potatio evacuit scyphos."

* See two large cases of his Sermons in my possession.

In early life he was thrown into convivial society, and his liveliness of conversation and literary habits must have rendered him an acquisition at the table of his friends. At the end of the last century the indulgences of the table were carried to an excess of which our times are happily ignorant, and it would be useless to attempt to conceal that he entered freely into all the bacchanalia of his day. This intemperance continued to be fashionable for some years, and it has been currently reported, and as generally believed, that the habit thus early formed continued to exercise considerable influence upon him in after life. This, however, is at least a questionable fact, and it is certain that, at least, during the last ten years of his life he seldom put his strength on this head to a trial. He was a good housekeeper, and had the best table in the parish. "He is a very valiant trencher-man, he hath an excellent stomach," as Mr. Aspinall, his curate, said of him (in 1830), or rather as Beatrice said of Benedick of Padua, and both "saws" were undoubtedly correct. His *gaieté du cœur* was especially sparkling and vivid at the table, and there his friends always saw him to advantage and in his real character, and he often quoted a *piquant* saying of Descartes that "God never created the good things of this world for dunces only." Some of his puns and bon-mots were exceedingly smart, and sometimes he conveyed gibes and sneers in the most polished and glittering phraseology. Perhaps there was not much *originality* in what he said. He gave great offence by drinking at a public dinner, at the Wellington Hotel, shortly after he came to the vicarage, "the health of my good friends, *Hunt and Co.*," and Mr. Clement Royds, afterwards High Sheriff of the county, never forgot the indecent incident. On this occasion there can be little doubt that, like the famous Walter Mapes, his full bottle had produced the racy quip and facetious toast.

Mr. Hay related an anecdote of himself and of his fellow magistrates meeting in sessions at Wakefield, and afterwards dining in an inn. He was moved to an act which startled the landlord from his propriety and the street from its usual order.

Having observed the supply of wine diminish, not so much in *quality* as in *quantity*, he rose, after the cloth was drawn, and said, in a formal manner—"Gentlemen, we have been in the habit of dining here for many years, and our old Bardolph knew us well and treated us in the same manner, but our new Boniface has learnt, somewhere unknown to me, the *black art* of putting a *quart* of wine into a *pint* bottle, and all necromancy we are bound to discourage, and, in his Majesty's name, to punish. Gentlemen, I am about to propose a remedy for the evil of which I complain. Fill your glasses (not half of the magistrates found the requisite supply of wine), for my sentence shall be short, sharp, and effective, and those who approve of it will have the goodness instantly to follow my example." With that saying, Mr. Hay seized one of the small decanters and pitched it through the window into the street, and at least half-a-dozen more gentlemen did the same. The bell summoned the new host; astonished and speechless he appeared, and Mr. Hay, the chairman, sternly addressing him, complained of the deficiency of wine, and begged that the *old* decanters for the future might be sent in, as the *new* ones were not liked. The *silly* landlord took the hint, and the supply was plentiful—and if *quart* bottles were drank, they were certainly not charged for as *pints*. Mr. Hay used to add, the mob assembled and the constables arrived, but too soon, as the revellers were all, of course, quite sober, nor was the feast likely to end in a fray. (Dr. Wood repeated this anecdote at Rochdale vicarage, June 14, 1855.)

Mr. Hay had associated with many of the distinguished literary celebrities of his time. He despised Bishop Prettyman, and said that Pitt owed nothing to his tutor, who was a feeble and ambitious man, who merely valued Pitt from mercenary considerations. He observed that Prettyman's "Life of Pitt" was contemptible. Mr. Hay met Pitt at Bubb Dodington's, and said he was the *beau ideal* of a gentleman, an orator, and a statesman. He made the following memorandum in one of his books in my possession:—"1784, 28 Feb. He is a statesman of the greatest

discernment this country ever produced, and understands better than any of his contemporaries the wants of the community. He is honest and serious, and is under the guidance of truth and reason."

He never met Dr. Johnson, but his sister, Miss Hay, frequently had, and always spoke of his manner in ladies' society as courteous and deferential. He heard Garrick deliver his last address at Drury Lane, and thought it very fine—the house was crammed. He knew Mrs. Piozzi, whom he frequently met at his sister's house at Bath. In 1828 Miss Hay died, and her literary correspondence became Mr. Hay's. It included many curious, high-flown and sentimental letters written by Mrs. Piozzi. Mr. Hay styled them "the most empty and arrant nonsense," and thought that Johnson's attentions to her were more unaccountable than any of the weak parts of his great character. He had met Mrs. Carter and Mrs. Montague, and thought them women of much finer abilities than Mrs. Piozzi, who obtained notoriety merely through the wonderful force of Johnson's name and friendship. She was always a vain, showy, and superficial woman.

Wilberforce was a fine speaker, but dreadfully methodistical. He was always popular with the Dissenters, but Pitt could never *trust* him. Bragge Bathurst, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, gave Mr. Hay the rectory of Ackworth.

Bishop Blomfield, said Mr. Hay, was an arrogant man, and ruled with a high hand. His conduct contrasted strongly with the mild rule of Law. His personal rudeness to Mr. Hay at his own table offended everybody. When Mr. Hay objected to the Bishop bringing Mr. Ward, his secretary, to the vicarage, his lordship asked "Are you aware that the vicarage is *mine*, by the law of the Church, and that I can take possession of it, and bring my servants with me at *any* visitation?" Mr. Hay's quickness did not forsake him, but on the instant he said "And would your lordship require the procuration fee as well?"

Taking up a fork or spoon at the table, his lordship asked Miss Hay how her father came to bear the arms of the Kinnoul

family, and on being informed, *sneered.* Mr. Hay said the Bishop *snubbed* Billy Ward almost daily, and made him his butt, but when his lordship went to London, he gave Billy a silver ink-stand, which was afterwards exposed for sale in a shop window, so little was the gift valued. Whatever Mr. Hay's view of the Bishop might be, there can be but one opinion of the admirable manner in which he ruled his diocese, and what forbearance he required, and yet he was of a singularly irritable and hasty temper. Mr. Hay called him "Zimri."

Bishop Phillpotts, of Exeter, at one time stood high with Mr. Hay, and his letters on Catholic Emancipation, in 1828, were deemed unanswerable. As rector of Stanhope he was thought worthy of the See of Durham, and his strong arguments and conclusive reasoning against the admission of Roman Catholics to civil power were the constant subject of Mr. Hay's commendation. Dr. Phillpotts became Bishop of Exeter in 1831, and Mr. Hay considered that it was the reward of his political tergiversation in 1829, when Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington, who had always resisted them, carried the repeal of the penal laws against that body, with the support of Dr. Phillpotts, who vindicated this proceeding. Although the Bishop defended himself in the House of Lords, Mr. Hay considered his defence inadmissible, and at that time he amused his friends by having placed on his dinner table a bottle containing a *liqueur* called *Damson Rat*afee, which he had marked in large characters "DAM. RAT.," and which he named *Toby Phillpotts.*

Mr. Hay was strongly indignant at this time, 1829, at the conduct of Sir Robert Peel, who attended a great Protestant banquet at Manchester, and witnessed the honour done to the popular toast "Protestant Ascendancy," and the unprecedented enthusiasm of the meeting, and on quitting it, proceeded directly to London and introduced the measure which was carried in the Commons on the 30th March, and in the Lords on the 10th April, for the repeal of the penal laws against the Roman Catholics. From this time Mr. Hay ceased to take any strong part in politics.

Amongst his "Political Pamphlets," of which he had a large collection, and largely annotated in his neat hand-writing, is Priestley's famous letter to Pitt on the subject of the *Test Act*. Mr. Hay had made himself thoroughly master of the questions of Toleration and Church Establishments, and his marginal remarks on Priestley's statements in every page are sound, argumentative and conclusive, and opposed to the specious and sentimental wrongs adduced by the Birmingham philosopher. Although opposed to these aggressions, Mr. Hay gave up his bedrooms at the rectory house of Ackworth to the quakers who attended their public meetings connected with the school in that parish, and at Rochdale he subscribed to Good Samaritan and other societies established by the Dissenters, and allowed a Roman Catholic Chapel to be built on the vicarage glebe.

On one occasion, at a large public meeting in Rochdale, a quaker named King appeared with his hat on, and the chairman requested that, out of respect to the meeting, it might be removed. Not finding his civil request attended to, he good-humouredly put on his own hat, and looking his drab-coloured friend in the face, dryly observed, "We now destroy the *King's supremacy*, and have established *equality*, and therefore we are at liberty to proceed with the business."

The inveteracy of the dislike of various bodies of dissenters towards him was unreasonably intense, as he never interfered with their rights, privileges, or proceedings — he never attacked them or their peculiar views in the pulpit — he knew that the churchwardens never collected church-rates from quakers or from certain individuals known to be peculiarly hostile to the impost — he supported some of their charities, and joined with them in establishing the dispensary, but had no social intercourse with them. He was obnoxious to them on political grounds, but chiefly, I believe, because they misapprehended his real character.

He once compared the dissenters to *gnats* and *corks*, observing that gnats fly as well as eagles, and that a small cork swims as well as a great ship; but he thought *gnats* annoyed more than eagles, and that it was difficult to drown corks.

When Dr. Rushton called upon him to enlist his services in building churches where the population was large and unprovided with church accommodation in Rochdale, he observed, "You forget Mrs. Raffald's advice, 'Catch your hare and then cook it,'" to which Rushton replied, "But, sir, I want to lay the *net*." "Then," observed Mr. Hay, "I can have nothing to do with *poachers*." And at another time he said to the same excellent person, "You overwhelm me with figures. I am not a statistician; but when you ask twelve old women to come to tea, do you always place twelve cups and saucers for them? Do they all come? Are none unable to obey the summons?" And with such evasions few churches were built in his large parish. He was opposed to the building of *large* churches.

Mr. Hay does not appear to have published anything. His addresses at the Quarter Sessions were clear and technical, but display no great ability. They may be found reported in some of the old Manchester newspapers. He had a higher reputation than he deserved as a scholar and a lawyer, as some of his legal opinions and decisions were not supported by common law. His natural sagacity and acuteness of judgment, his bold and authoritative statements, and his long acquaintance with public business induced his opinions to be received with polite deference by his equals, and they were not generally questioned by those who neither esteemed nor admired him. He occasionally contributed anonymous articles to the *Gent. Mag.*, and he told me that he sent a correction of Aiken's statement, repeated by the family of Mr. Butterworth Bayley, that the New Bailey Prison, in Manchester, was called after that gentleman, whereas its original name was "The Howard," in honour of the philanthropist, and commonly called the *New* Bailey to distinguish it from the *Old* Bailey in London. (See *Gent. Mag.*, Nov., 1819, p. 386.)

He made several common-place books, containing large collections of law cases, opinions and precedents, which, being carefully indexed, were resources ready for reference and were found useful to him as a magistrate, notwithstanding his well-stored mind on such subjects.

He had several volumes of *MS.* poetry and anecdotes, some of these being original and connected with public characters whom he had personally known. His application and energy were inexhaustible, and most of his books contained *MS. Notes* and illustrations.* He had a large miscellaneous library both at Rochdale and Ackworth, but I never saw a catalogue, although he recorded the prices he gave for his books. He kept up his reading to the end of his life.

His methodical habits induced him to collect in several 4to. volumes *Notes* respecting the parish church and its chapels. These are of a general and miscellaneous description, and the arrangement is not good. He bequeathed the volumes for the use of his successor in the vicarage of Rochdale.

He had also a thick folio volume containing a sort of "History of Ackworth," its rectors, tithes, charities and other matters which had fallen under his notice as rector of that parish. Valuable as this book would be to the rector, I have reason to know that it is not in his possession.

He also left to his successors at Rochdale a curiously carved oak book case, with drawers for the safe custody of papers, standing in his lower study, and a brass plate has been placed in it, inscribed —

"VICARAGE HEIRLOOM FROM THE REV.
ROB. HAY VICAR OF ROCHDALE.
OB. DEC. 10, 1839."

Why his first Christian name was omitted does not appear. There is a handsome shield in the centre of the brass label with a floriated cross intersecting an ornamented circle. I believe this was put upon the bookcase in 1853 by Dr. Molesworth.

* This large and wonderful collection of Manuscripts in his neat and beautiful handwriting was given to me by his daughter, and will always remain a monument of his industry and perseverance. It is much to be regretted that the order and arrangement of the subjects should have been disregarded. The poetry extends from about the year 1789 to 1839, and is of a very miscellaneous description, although most of the political ballads and poems of the day will be found in the several volumes — of all sizes and shapes.

He left in a large trunk a mass of *MS.* papers sealed, and on the top is written, "*These Papers to be sent to the Prime Minister of Portugal*"; but they have not been forwarded, and Mrs. Hankin told me that they are in the possession of Mr. Salt of Stafford, a trustee of the family. (May 9th, 1856.) Her ancestor, Lord Kinnoul, went in 1760 on a special mission to Portugal, when her grandfather was the English ambassador there, not for the purpose as was then reported of congratulating the king on the approaching marriage of Don Joseph, but for a political purpose, and these papers have some reference to State affairs. Lord Kinnoul's secretary was young Philip Francis, afterwards the celebrated Sir Philip Francis, but none of the Hay family ever supposed him to be the author of Junius's letters. The influence of Lord Kinnoul with the elder Pitt, then at the head of the British Government, was very small. These State papers had long been in the garret of his brother, the Rev. Dr. Hay, the canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and at his death were sent, not to Portugal, but to Rochdale, for Dr. Hay. (See *Gent. Mag.*, June, 1830, part i. p. 570.)

His Rochdale library was sold by auction in the town, and the books realized fair prices. I bought largely. His daughter gave me many of his scrap books, some *MS.* books, &c. (afterwards she sent me them *all*).

His coins and medals were sold for 200*l.* Many of these were bequeathed to him by friends, and some were given to him by Miss Bankes, sister to Sir Joseph Bankes. These *spolia opima* were rare and genuine, and I have his *MS.* catalogue.

He had 152 little quarto volumes of Puritan sermons, tracts, and theology, which were bought by Barclay, the bookseller, of York, and were probably scattered.* The collection was almost unique, and ought to have been preserved. He had a few illuminated missals handsomely bound. His carved oak furniture was genuine, and very fine.

* He told me that a bookseller who went from Wakefield to London once offered him 50*l.* for the collection.

Many of his books, especially those at Ackworth, had belonged to his grandmother, the countess of Kinnoul, who, he said, had the strong mind and literary tastes of her father, and he also possessed the library of his brother Dr. Thomas Hay. He was an indefatigable reader, as the margins and fly-leaves of almost all his books proved. His remarks were sometimes from printed books, but often the result of his own mature personal knowledge and observation. The notes on "The Tracts" were very valuable. He had not many volumes of great rarity or many black letter gems or *editiones principes*, such as Dibden and Wrangham, Crossley and Corser, and similar fastidious bibliomaniacs would revere and covet. His collection of caricatures by Gilray and others, and his engravings, were illustrated by notes, and some of his more valuable works were illustrated by the insertion of loose prints and etchings, and his Chalmers and Granger were rich in this respect.

He possessed some valuable pictures. Kneller's exquisite portrait of Lady Abigail Harley, afterwards Countess of Kinnoul, was never seen without exciting admiration. She was the daughter of Robert, first Earl of Oxford, and grandmother of Mr. Hay. Her personal attractions were great, but there was a slight tinge of melancholy in her beautifully-expressive countenance. Dr. Hay bequeathed this picture to him in 1830.* It was placed over the fireplace in the front drawing-room. Mrs. Hankins told me that she gave this noble picture to Lady Langdale, the wife of the Lord Chancellor (Bickersteth), 1859. The rare portrait of Bishop Lewis Bagot was in the back drawing-room.

Romney's† portrait of his sister, Miss Hay, of Bath, was in Mrs. Hay's morning-room. I think Mr. Hay said this was the picture which first brought Romney into notice, and Allan Cunningham having made an erroneous statement on the subject, Mr. Hay wrote to him, and was told that the error should be corrected if another edition of his "Lives of British Painters" were called for.

* [*Sic*, but ? to whom.]

† I am not sure that the artist was Romney. He may have been Gainsborough.

Mr. Astley's portrait of Mrs. Hay, shortly after she became wife of the vicar, was a most attractive picture, but the drapery was left unfinished; also Mrs. Hay, by Gainsborough.

He had portraits of his grandfather and grandmother Flower, of London, plebeian looking. Also scarce engravings of his relative Isaac Hawkins Browne, Esq. (who was, he said, a very odd and eccentric man, and very inferior to his father as a scholar); Robert, archbishop of York; the two sons of the Archbishop, as young men, one leaning on the other's shoulder; an etching of himself, in spectacles; and some water-colour portraits of his wife.

Amongst his many articles of virtu may be named a large and massive silver cup, with a cover, of an antique form, bearing upon it the arms of the Earl of Oxford, and containing about a quart. On some rare occasions of hospitality, this noble cup was introduced, filled with a sort of *mulled* wine, to the great enjoyment of the host and some of his guests, whilst others were more curiously employed in measuring the scrolls, arabesques, and rich armorial ensigns, than in quaffing the contents of the *poculum potatorium* of the merry vicar, which only had its prototype in the famous silver bear of Tully-Veolau.

He had also the massive gold cup presented to him by the magistrates of the Hundred of Salford, in 1823, when he retired from the chairmanship of the Quarter Sessions. His full-length portrait, painted by Lonsdale at the same time, and afterwards engraved, was hung in the large room of the New Bailey. Mr. Hay used to tell an anecdote of his dog coming into the room after the portrait was finished, looking up in his master's face (on the canvas), wagging his tail and licking the shoe—a conclusive proof that the artist had painted a life-like portrait.

I heard with sorrow, some years after Mr. Hay's death, that the gold cup was exposed for sale in a silversmith's shop in York.

In disposing of his ecclesiastical preferment at Rochdale—for he had many livings in his gift—he was influenced by the purest considerations, although he did not always select men of either

talent or piety. He never gave a living to a relative, although repeatedly solicited both by his son and son-in-law, neither of whom he considered to be fitted for preferment in a parish like Rochdale. Nor did he ever give one of his livings on the solicitation of the congregation, having a despicable opinion of popular favourites, and disapproving of lay interference with clerical authority and interests. And yet he himself once asked the Rev. Dr. Drake for the poor perpetual curacy of Lydgate in Saddleworth, when vacant, but did not obtain it. He lived to present to it twice during his own vicariate.

He was a benefactor to the vicarage, having rebuilt the back or north part of the house, and having at the same time (1821) removed the small and placed in their stead large sash windows. These he guarded and protected by bars of iron.

Mr. Hay was an early riser, being seldom in bed at four o'clock either in summer or winter, and retiring early, when alone, not later than nine o'clock, for many years before he died. His study was prepared for him over-night, and he lighted the fire himself in the early morning. He required few attentions from domestic servants, and used to say that "they never neglected him." He was a good and considerate master, although he had no old domestics at Rochdale. The old gardener whom he found at the vicarage grew insufficient in his place, and after some consideration, to avoid hurting the old man's feelings, he was pensioned off, and another appointed in his place. He had an insuperable objection against leaving such "heirlooms" for his successor.

Like Eglon, King of Moab, he was a large fat man, and has recorded that in 1822 he weighed 18 stone, and that it took 14 yards of Saddleworth cloth to make him a suit of clothes, and 2½ yards of broad-cloth for a coat. (*Mem. Book.*) He was for some years at the latter part of his life afraid of apoplexy, taking strong purgatives recommended to him by Mr. Abernethy, whom he consulted in London, and being regularly cupped in the neck. He observed that it was a remark of Dr. Bentley's that if you

allow an old crazy trunk to stand in a corner, it will last a long time, but that if moved it will soon fall to pieces; and, therefore, he avoided all excitemcnt and turbulence. His great resolution continued until within two or three years of his death, when age and disease rendered him timid, and he avoided the bench and any society likely to involve him in trouble or to lead to matters requiring decision and energy. He had an unfavourable opinion of the state of the manufacturing districts, both socially and religiously, and did not think that the remedy would be found either in education or an extension of the franchise. He held that Lancashire at any moment was at the mercy of the *mob*. It ought to be named that at the end of his life politics ran very high, and party spirit was rife.

As a specimen of the coarse abuse to which he was subjected, even to the conclusion of his life, the following remarks in a speech delivered in the Collegiate Church of Manchester, at a church-rate meeting, on the 8th July, 1835, may be given. The speaker was Mr. Hadfield, I think an attorney, and afterwards in parliament:—"Our good friend Hay, at Rochdale, has several good things. As vicar of Rochdale he receives 1,838*l.*, as rector of Ackworth, 425*l.*, and as prebendary of York, 427*l.*, making a total of 2,690*l.*; and for his 427*l.* at York he preaches *occasionally*. (Cheers and laughter.) For the honour of abused humanity I hope to hear of an end being put to such things, for a more grievous reflection on the cause of Christ, or anything which has a greater tendency to make men sceptics and infidels, I do not know of." (See *Manchester Courier*.)

It may be named that the value of the two livings was greatly exaggerated, and that the stall of York was almost an honorary appointment.

[The following is another specimen of the strong feeling at the time. Shortly after Mr. Beswicke of Pike House died, in 1831, the following lines were put upon the door of the Parish Church:

Old *Beswicke's* dead and gone to hell;
Where *Crossley's* gone no man can tell.

Pray, good devil, don't long delay
To fetch *Clement* Royds and *Justice* Hay.

(See Lees' copy of Baines, already cited.)]

For several years before he died he saw little company. His habits had become regular and correct, and the gay dissipation, and, I fear, convivial excess of early and middle life, had been relinquished ; but he retained his strong mental powers and clearness of understanding almost to the last.

Like his wife, he thoroughly disliked Rochdale, and always left it with pleasure for Ackworth. Mrs. Hay came seldom, and he has noted that the last time was from the 10th August to the 5th October, 1829, at which time I became acquainted with her. She was a person of pleasing manners, of no great understanding, but retained the remains of great personal charms. She said she had so high an opinion of the *Moravian* body and their principles, that she had often told her friend Mr. La Trobe, that when she left the English Church she should join his community. She was devoted to her son, whose mental eccentricities occasioned both her and his father great concern. She said one reason why she seldom came to Rochdale was that the *tolling bell* of the Church, adjoining the vicarage, for the *daily funerals*, always rendered her melancholy and ill. Nor did she like the loud ringing of the bells on all occasions. Like Mr. Hay, she took a severe view of the character of the Lancashire operatives, and thought that the manufacturing districts were ripe for *rebellion* and *anarchy*, and were only kept quiet by the iron-hand of the law. She observed that she entirely agreed with a gentleman who had just left the vicarage that Manchester was built on a *volcano*, and that the time would certainly arrive when the *reform mania* would produce its legitimate results in the overthrow of society, in general plunder, and universal despotism !

Mrs. Hay said that she was born at Barnsley, in Yorkshire, whilst her mother was on a visit there to some friends. General Kyd married Hannah, daughter of Mr. William Wagstaffe, surgeon, of Manchester (her sister), and at that time the young widow of

Edward Hay, Esq. (her husband's brother), who had died in India. Mrs. Kyd's miniature, painted when she was young, represents her as very sweet looking, blue eyes, blonde, head dress high, hair powdered—about 1785. General Morgan married another sister, equally lovely. Mrs. Hay said *she* was 69 — (born in 1760) and had five children by Mr. Hay, two only surviving. For an account of Astley, her first husband, see *Gent. Mag.*, May. 1794, p. 445.

Mrs. Hay died at the rectory house, Ackworth, 18th February, 1832, *æt.* 71, after a short illness. I never heard Mr. Hay drop a hint on religion, either directly or indirectly, except on the death of his wife, when he described her last moments with great feeling, and spoke most becomingly of her hopes, which were those of a sincere and humble Christian. He said her last commission was very solemn, and her great sorrow was the absence of her son, Edward Hay. As he never allowed religious subjects to be named, he was probably of Lord Chesterfield's opinion that "Religion was too respectable a subject to become a familiar one, and not proper to be made an ordinary topic of conversation." (*Works*, vol. 3, 4to.) I always thought, however, that it arose from his want of precision and accuracy as a divine, and not in consequence of his rejecting or disbelieving any article of the Creed. In this respect he incurred the same charge as Archbishop Sheldon, and perhaps with the same truth.

It must at the same time be stated that he had a peculiar dislike to all persons who advocated strictness and regularity in religious observances, and such men, whether clergymen or not, were very unjustly regarded by him as persons of dishonesty, who used their religion as a cloak to conceal personal sins, or as a means to further their own interests. He could not bear Mr. Stowell of Manchester, and called him "a painted churchman"—"a man who had been intended by nature for the theatre, and not for the pulpit," and when in 1830 Mr. ffarington invited the same admirable churchman to advocate the cause of his Sunday Schools at St. James' Church, Mr. Hay observed, that as Mr.

ffarington's object was to obtain money and an audience, he had better have engaged some one to stand upon his head in the pulpit, or to play at battledore and shuttlecock in it, and that would have answered his purpose quite as well! Dr. Parkinson thought that many of Mr. Hay's irreligious notions had arisen from his long intercourse as a magistrate with low and depraved criminals, which led him to form a severe opinion of human nature, and thereby his mind became narrowed and depressed. One conclusion he said he had long ago arrived at — he always distrusted a man of profuse professions, and inwardly suspected a person who had once deceived him. Once false, always false.

He was opposed to a strict observance of the Lord's Day, and maintained that the religious observance of it, contended for by Sir Andrew Agnew, was nothing more than a *Scotch Puritan's* infringement upon the original purpose for which it was appointed. He did not think that the Jewish Sabbath was obligatory, and that it was relaxed by the Christian code; and he urged the passsage "the Sabbath was made for man," apparently forgetting that it was not made for man to violate. Every day was the same to him. He made no distinction between the moral obligation, and the ceremonial incumbrances; but it was useless arguing with him.

He had a strong prejudice against one of his curates — the Rev. James Aspinall, afterwards Rector of Althorpe in Lincolnshire. Mr. Hay characterized his sermons as *twaddle* — worse than Sydney Smith's, which are incomprehensible. Aspinall's poetical squibs on some of the leading parishioners, in which he ridiculed their well-known weak points, were as libellous as they were cutting, and Mr. Hay besought him to suppress them. Aspinall told Mr. Hay that he had carried a sermon to church for more than a year, Sunday by Sunday, containing the character of a *lawyer*, and intended for Mr. F—— of the W——, but he had never been at church. Mr. Hay observed, that he hoped the old attorney would absent himself for another year, and by that time the sermon would be *worn out*. "My opinion of him, at all events,

will not," replied the curate. Mr. Hay said, "believe me, in attacking these Rochdale people, you are riding on a whirlwind, but you cannot direct the storm you will raise in my parish,"— and Aspinall left for Liverpool.

Aspinall wished occasionally to borrow a book of the vicar— who replied "I do not keep a *circulating* library, and never did." He taught another curate, to whom he liberally offered the use of his library at all times, when in residence at Ackworth, how to open a book as Dr. Cyril Jackson had taught him when at Westminster School — lay the volume on the left hand and only half open it and then the binding will not be injured by extending the covers too far. All his books were preserved with great neatness.

He was exceedingly exact and methodical in all his public transactions; but early in life he became involved in pecuniary difficulties, and was never entirely extricated from the inconveniences they produced. He was not a man who ever cared for money, and was neither mercenary nor mean, and yet he was not thought to be liberal and generous in the best acceptation of those terms. He gave little in charity, and left nothing behind him for benevolent purposes. He had insured his life to pay sums of money which he had borrowed, and all his debts were fully liquidated. I state facts, and, as Zanga said, war not with the dead.

As a proof of his kindness of disposition, it may be recorded that in June, 1832, being apprehensive of sudden death, and wishing one of his curates to have a small living, at that time vacant, he took the young man aside, and said with great feeling that it would be an indecorous act to give the presentation before the late incumbent was buried; but, he added, the necessary form has been written and executed, and should I be found dead in my bed, which is not improbable, the document will be found in my desk. This delicate act was always remembered and appreciated by the curate. [Mr. Raines himself.]

It may be recorded that through life Mr. Hay was short-sighted and used spectacles, but that five or six years before his death he

was able to preach without them, and yet did not find his sight grow stronger.

His two children were the Rev. Edward Hay, born 16th April, 1800, a student of Christ Church, Oxford, 1817; B.A. 1821, M.A., 1824, ordained deacon 19th December, 1824, priest 18th December, 1825. He was chaplain to the Earl of Kinnoul, and succeeded to the vicarage of Broughton, near Skipton, in the county of York, and a student of Christ Church, in 183 . Owing to his mental affliction, the living was sequestered, and a curate took the charge of the parish. He never married, and died 30th July, 1860.

The daughter of Mr. Hay, like her brother, was eccentric and and wilful. She was born 27th March, 1798, and married at Ackworth, in the absence of her father and against his wish, on the 24th July, 1828, the Rev. Thomas Frederick Paul Hankins, who, I believe, had been curate of Ackworth. He never had any preferment, nor children. He was personally objectionable to Mr. Hay, who afterwards received him at his house, but treated him with great coldness. Hankins ultimately left his wife, became a horse dealer, and appeared in the *Gazette*.

A few days before his death Dr. Hay visited Manchester, not calling at Rochdale, to consult his medical adviser, as he was suffering at that time from diabetes, and the lower parts of his body being greatly inflamed. He was advised to return home without delay, and determined to proceed to Ackworth. On his arriving there gangrene ensued, hastened by his imprudently venturing so far at an inclement season in an open carriage. He remained conscious nearly to the last, and was reconciled to his daughter, at his own request, on the day preceding his death. He had provided that her property should be settled on trustees, and to be paid by *weekly* instalments, to prevent an unworthy husband having any benefit from it. Her uncles, the Rev. Dr. Hay, canon of Christ Church, General Morgan, and other relatives, had made ample provision for her, and by her brother's death she became opulent.

There is nothing at Rochdale to prove that he had ever been the vicar. On a square tomb, enclosed by slender iron railing, in Ackworth churchyard, is the following :—

MARY HAY	WILLIAM ROBERT HAY
WIFE OF	M.A., RECTOR OF THIS
THE RECTOR OF THIS PARISH,	PARISH 37 YEARS,
DIED	DIED
18th FEBR^{Y} 1832.	10th DECEMBER, 1839.
AGED 71.	AGED 78.

His funeral sermon was preached at Rochdale by his friend the Rev. Dr. Parkinson, at that time one of the Fellows of the Collegiate Church, Manchester [who wrote his obituary in the *Manchester Courier*]. The pulpit and desk were hung with black cloth. The sermon was a cautious and judicious one, and was published. A long notice of Mr. Hay from the same pen also appeared in the *Manchester Courier*, December 14th, 1839. (See *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. ix. p. 385.) He once said to the Doctor in his quiet way, "there is nothing in the Church Services equal to the *Collects* — they are the very *juice* of the Scriptures."

Of his portraits, all good, may be named :— (1) A small three-quarters painted when about 50, wearing spectacles, and leaning upon a stick with a facetious expression. This was engraved, or etched, and many of his friends had impressions. (2) A large three quarters oil portrait by a Leeds artist, Mr. Frederick, painted about 1822. There was a *replica*, in the possession of the Rev. Jos. Cowell of Todmorden, by the artist. (3) Lonsdale's full-length picture, painted at the cost of the county magistrates, and now in the Court House, Manchester. This was beautifully engraved in 1837.

During Mr. Hay's life time there was something about the vicarage house which indicated that it was the abode of a clergyman and a man of taste, and it was one of the most interesting old houses I ever saw. All who visited the vicar were impressed with the quietude, the order, the respectability, and the old-world

aspect of the place. The curious oak, and ebony, and ivory aumberies, and cabinets, the carved chairs, the inlaid boxes, the fine paintings, curious pictures, gems and antiques, books, engravings, prints, curiosities, all arranged with great taste and precision, arrested the attention of the most unobservant. The old heavy furniture, like its master, knew nothing of the tawdry and spindle-like fashions of an after age, and, notwithstanding its cumbrous aspect, there was something agreeable and refreshing, in turning from the showy rooms of a modern trademan's house, to the taste and fashion of past times, and to contemplate the *το καλον* of our good old ancestors in material things.

There was often a playfulness of manner in the old vicar as he described various articles of *vertu*, and gave their history, which was very much in the style of Monkbarns. Each relic had its own story. One magnificent chair, in which a king might have been crowned, or an abbot taken his post-prandial repose, was found in a cottage near Ackworth, and was called "the Kirkstall Chair," from an apocryphal tradition that it had once had its abode in that famous abbey; but the spell was broken and the well-sounding name dropped, when a friend sent the vicar the companion chair — in all respects similar — from the neighbourhood of Oldham! All the furniture was sold by auction, in the town of Rochdale, and realized high prices, buyers coming from London, Manchester, Leeds, and the neighbouring towns.

Dr. Parkinson concluded his eulogy on the vicar by observing, with great truth, that, taking him all in all:—

We ne'er shall look upon his like again.

[1839. JOHN EDWARD NASSAU MOLESWORTH, D.D., was the only son of John Molesworth and Frances, daughter of Matthew Hill, Esq. He was descended from an ancient family, one of whose members, Sir Walter Molesworth, accompanied Edward I. to the Crusades. The elder branch of the family was ennobled by Queen Anne, in the person of Robert Molesworth, who was ambassador to Denmark during the reign of William III.,

and in 1690 published a work entitled "An Account of Denmark," containing advanced Whig views. On the 16th of July, 1716, he was advanced to the Irish Peerage with the title of Viscount Molesworth of Swords, in the county of Dublin, and Baron of Philipstown, King's county. His fourth son, Edward, was the grandfather of Dr. Molesworth. (See *Burke's Peerage.*)

Dr. Molesworth was born in London on February 4th, 1790, and was educated under Dr. Crombie, who was a Presbyterian. He was famous as a Greek scholar, and as the author of a work called "The Gymnasium," and kept a school at Greenwich. In 1809 he went to Trinity College, Oxford, and in 1812-13 took his degree of B.A., M.A. 1817, D.D. 1838. In 1813 he was ordained to the curacy of Millbrook, near Southampton, with a stipend of 60*l.* a year. While holding this curacy he showed considerable legal acumen and ability in supporting his claims to those parts of the Swords estates to which he was entitled, the death of his father, in his infancy, having left everything in confusion.

On the 28th of November, 1815, he married Harriet, daughter of W. Mackinnon, Esq., and sister of Major W. A. Mackinnon, Esq., M.P. for Lymington, and of Newtown Park and Hyde Park Place, London. Prior to taking orders he had not shown much disposition for study, but the needs of a large family induced him, at the instance of his friend Dr. Rennell, Dean of Winchester, to come out as a champion of orthodoxy in a work entitled "An Answer to the Rev. John Davidson's 'Inquiry into the Origin and Intent of Primitive Sacrifice,' &c., by the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, M.A., Curate of Millbrook, London, 1826," Dr. Davidson's work had created a sensation which may be compared somewhat to the publication of essays and reviews in more recent times. This reply was considered very effective, and brought Mr. Molesworth speedy promotion, a prospect which he had some confidence would eventually come, as is witnessed by an anecdote of these days. A clever friend of his, and the inventor of a steam carriage that created a sensation, having remon-

strated with him — "I wonder, Molesworth, that a man of your great ability wastes his talents on such a beggarly profession as the Church is." The answer was, "I shall stick to my profession and I shall get on as well as you will."

While at Millbrook, Mr. Molesworth secured the warm friendship of Dean Rennell, already named, and of Dr. Tomline, Bishop of Winchester, and was promised early promotion by the latter. This was delayed by the Bishop's death. Presently, his answer to Davidson having fallen into the hands of Dr. Howley, that prelate, on his promotion to the See of Canterbury, in 1828, offered him the vacant living of Wirksworth, in Derbyshire. We are told that his late parishioners at Millbrook presented him with a service of plate worth 100 guineas, and sent an address to the Bishop expressing their regret at his departure. The clergy at Winchester and Southampton also presented him with testimonials of respect. The Archbishop had been misled as to the value of Wirksworth, which proved to be little, if at all, better endowed than a curacy. Mr. Molesworth therefore resigned it after holding it only two months, and was within a few days presented to the united rectory of St. Martin and St. Paul, at Canterbury, which was worth about 300*l.* a year.

At Canterbury he became the leader of the clergy and of the Conservative party. In the stormy period of the Reform Bill his activity as a speaker and writer was wonderful. At that time Canterbury was represented by two Liberals; when he left in 1839 by two Conservatives. His position as a leader was so thoroughly recognized that when the great Conservative banquet was given at Canterbury the Earl of Winchelsea sat on the right of the chairman and Mr. Molesworth on the left. He was an ardent politician because the Church was being attacked, and he came forward as its defender.

One who knew him well thus speaks of his labours at this time — "Mainly through him the barriers between the cathedral clergy and the parochial clergy were broken down, and new life was infused into everything. The grammar school was remodelled,

and the defence of Church and State were fought with an unsurpassed vigour and ability. Days, and frequently most part of the nights, were spent in hard work. Sermons, pamphlets, newspaper articles, contributions to reviews, &c., flowed from his pen. Amongst other things, he was the earliest to see the importance of meeting the activity of his opponents by producing cheap Church literature."

In 1835 he brought out a weekly periodical called the *Penny Sunday Reader*, in which his friend Hugh James Rose took a great interest. It consisted of eight pages, of which the greater part was written by himself, the labour of writing it, together with other duties, being so exacting that it was not an uncommon thing for him to go to bed at twelve and rise at four. He edited the first five volumes and then sold the copyright to Messrs. Rivington. The experiment of publishing a periodical at a penny was a new one, and it had an extraordinary popularity. The working men of Glasgow, and other large towns, used to crowd the publishers' shops on the day of publication, and his name became a household word in the Colonies of North and South America. He also wrote for the "British Magazine" and the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana," of which works Mr. Rose was the editor.

The Archbishop was evidently much impressed by his powers. He asked him to preach in the cathedral at his primary visitation, and at Lambeth at the consecration of Dr. Broughton and Dr. Mountain, the first bishops of Australia and Montreal. He further commanded the sermons to be printed, and appointed him one of the six preachers of Canterbury cathedral. In the visitation sermon just named he arrested the attention of his hearers by this startling exordium :—"Divisions notoriously prevail in the Church. It is idle, it is uncandid, it is impolitic to deny it," and he continued to lay bare the evil effects of disunion with characteristic plainness and power. In the same sermon he boldly proclaimed the then unpopular doctrine of apostolical succession. He was one of the first men in the kingdom seriously

to propose the revival of Convocation, the functions of which were then entirely in abeyance. He drew up, promoted, and presented to the Archbishop a memorial praying for the revival of that ancient synod, and this movement was soon followed by a first step in the direction that his memorial indicated. But though in this and in many other ways he boldly and strenuously put forward opinions which at that time were regarded as excessively high, he associated on most friendly terms with many of the Low Church clergy of the city of Canterbury, and with some of the dissenting ministers.

Archbishop Howley invited him frequently to stay with him to discuss Church matters. The Archbishop, armed with a long-handled garden tool, would walk with him in the garden, and in the midst of talk about Church and State, would strike any unlucky weed that had escaped the notice of the gardeners.

The Doctor often spoke of the prodigious memory and acquirements of the Archbishop. There was no quotation from any writer, ancient or modern, of note that he could not verify from his memory, and correct if improperly given. His Grace, it was often said, had as great a memory as Brougham, with more exactness and greater judgment.

While Dr. Molesworth was at Canterbury, the vicarage of Leeds became vacant, and both he and Dr. Hook were competitors for it, the Archbishop making, on this occasion, an exception to his general rule, gave him a testimonial, and in it he wrote that if he had a living like that of Leeds at his disposal he should unhesitatingly offer it to Mr. Molesworth. In 1839 and the following year the Archbishop offered him the vicarage of Minster-in-Thanet, worth about 700*l.* a year, and a few months later the more valuable living of Rochdale becoming vacant was offered to him by the Archbishop.

At this time Rochdale was by no means a bed of roses for a vigorous energetic vicar to control. The long absenteeism of Dr. Hay and his Erastian views had well-nigh crushed out the religious life of the church in the parish. Dissent was very

thriving and very active. Political animosities had been deeply stirred by the recent Reform Act, and no question was more burning than that which has already occupied us in these pages, namely, the great struggle about church rates. The new vicar was known to be a Tory, a High Churchman, and a strong champion for the rights of the church.

The position is not unfairly stated in the *Rochdale Observer*, a persistent opponent of Dr. Molesworth, in the sentence:—"It seems to have been the practice in times past to bestow the larger prizes of the Established Church, the fat and fruitful livings, as a reward for political services, and the appointment of the Rev. W. R. Hay, after his conspicuous labours at Peterloo, would seem to give colour to the idea. It is no wonder, then, that the same theory took possession of the public mind when Dr. Molesworth was presented with the living of Rochdale, and this impression seemed to receive some confirmation from the antecedents of the rev. gentleman, for his friends made no secret of the fact that he had distinguished himself as an ardent, and, in their opinion, successful controversialist." The spirit in which he was met may be gathered from a very slight fact. Shortly after his appointment a placard, printed at Todmorden, appeared offering a reward of 100*l.* to any person who would send the new vicar to h—ll and bring back the old one.

Dr. Molesworth arrived at Rochdale on Saturday, December 28th, 1839, and immediately proceeded to take possession of the vicarage. The next day the church was naturally crowded to hear the new vicar "read himself in." "We understand," says a newspaper report, "that the impression made upon the congregation, and, indeed, upon all who saw Dr. Molesworth, was extremely favourable, his deportment being exceedingly mild, courteous, and unassuming." (*Manchester Courier*, January 4th, 1840.)

On Sunday, February 8th, 1840, Dr. Molesworth preached a sermon at St. Mary's church, in which he suggested that the occasion of the Queen's marriage should be celebrated by a

national subscription for building new churches. *Inter alia* he said "It would have been a glorious bridal token and greeting to have offered her, if the Christians of the whole nation could have been assembled as we are this day, and have sent to her from every congregation a noble gift towards erecting churches, in which the prayers of thousands of new worshippers might be poured forth for the stability of her throne, and for the blessing of God upon her person, upon her consort, upon her reign, and upon her people." (*Ibid.*, February 15th, 1840.)

On the occasion of the Queen's marriage the vicar proposed an address of congratulation, headed, "The humble address of the vicar and the undersigned clergy, churchwardens, and inhabitants of Rochdale." It seems some of the magistrates were offended at their order not having been specially named in this address, and got up a rival address, which was headed by the signatures of three of them — William Chadwick, George Ashworth, and Henry Kelsall, Esqrs. The fact of there being two addresses having been animadverted upon in the *Manchester Guardian*, Dr. Molesworth wrote a letter stating these circumstances, and giving the two addresses in full, which is printed in the *Manchester Courier*, February 29th, 1840.

On June 9th, 1840, an attempt was made to assassinate the Queen and Prince Albert. The vicar thereupon called upon two of the leading Liberal magistrates, Mr. William Chadwick and Mr. Henry Kelsall, to express a hope that all parties would unite in a loyal address. It was agreed that Mr. John Fenton should be asked to take the chair; as he was not well, it was further arranged that if he refused the vicar should be advertised to take that position. The meeting having been duly called for the 17th of June, at the Commissioners' rooms, Dr. Molesworth was proceeding to take the chair, when Mr. John Bright intervened on the ground that Dr. Molesworth had recently, at Canterbury, taken part in some proceedings which were not quite consistent with complete loyalty; a charge which Dr. Molesworth disavowed and declared to be untrue. Mr. Bright, nevertheless, pressed his

claim, and insisted that the meeting had the right to elect its own chairman. Mr. William Chadwick, on behalf of himself and the other magistrates, protested against Mr. Bright's suggestion as an indignity to themselves, while the vicar declared that he had not sought the position, but having been lawfully put there by the terms of the requisition he should maintain his right. A great uproar ensued, and, according to a racy report, "after some hundreds of oaths, it was proposed that Mr. Clement Royds should take the chair." He having very properly refused, and the turmoil continuing, Dr. Molesworth declared the meeting closed, and with his friends, including all the magistrates, both Conservative and Liberal, and the more influential people present, adjourned to the Town Hall, where the proposed address was duly agreed upon. Mr. Bright and his followers, on the vicar's withdrawal, put Mr. Barton into the chair, and, having adjourned the meeting to the same evening at eight o'clock, eventually adopted an address of their own. (*Ibid.*, June 20th, 1840.)

We now reach an eventful struggle which, both from its importance as affecting a much wider field than Rochdale, and from the distinguished antagonists who championed the cause on either side, it will be well to give a somewhat detailed notice of. Church rates had long been fought about in Rochdale, and the local Quakers had from early times consistently opposed their collection, but the battle had grown especially fierce since 1834, and the elections of churchwardens had chiefly turned on this question. The courts had decided that the rate was only legal when duly sanctioned by a majority of the ratepayers, and the meetings called to sanction the rate were naturally the arena where the struggle was most warm.

On Tuesday, April 21st, there was a numerous meeting held in the parish church for the purpose of electing wardens for the township of Castleton. Dr. Molesworth was in the chair. Four persons were nominated, and the vicar having declared the show of hands to be in favour of Mr. John Lord, the Chartists demanded a poll on behalf of their nominee, Mr. Thomas Livesey, while two

other parties demanded polls, one for Mr. James Ackworth, for the township of Butterworth, and another for Mr. Thomas Wilkinson, for that of Wardleworth. The poll was fixed for the Monday following and four succeeding days. We are told that the church and yard were thronged with people, so many not having attended for years. An adjournment to the churchyard was proposed, but the vicar refused to consent. (*Ibid.*, April 25th, 1840.)

In the contest which ensued the Church party polled 3,002 votes, and the opposition 1,487. The vicar, in declaring the result of the poll, said—"While I attribute the success of the contest principally to the consistent and proper efforts of our supporters, I cannot but feel thankful for the generous and proper forbearance of our more respectable opponents, who feel that whatever their differences might be with the church, they could not countenance the forcing men into its offices for the avowed purpose, not of discharging its duties, but of evading and frustrating them. I do not think this ought to be considered a party triumph, and hope all bad feelings will pass away, and that we shall be again as brethren and friends together." Rochdale, May 1st, 1840. (*Ibid.*, May 2nd, 1840.)

On July 1st, 1840, a meeting of the parish was called in order to lay a rate. The estimated expenses for the year were 262*l.* 11*s.*, to meet which it was proposed to levy a rate of ½*d.* in the pound. The meeting began with an address from the vicar.

This address is a very good specimen of the vicar's concise, trenchant style, and contains none of those acerbities from which a good many of his later polemical writings were not free, and as it states extremely forcibly the position taken up by the church party in these contests, it is worth transcribing:—

Before I proceed to the business of the day I feel it incumbent on me to notice a proposal which was made to me by Mr. Littlewood and Mr. Petrie, to this effect, that certain parties would consent to the laying of the rate provided that it was understood that the word "optional" should be annexed to the papers delivered in by the collector. I am desirous, in the first instance, to offer my public acknowledgements and thanks to those gentlemen for the expression of personal kindness, and for the candour

and good temper with which they discussed the subject, and Mr. Littlewood, in his note addressed to me this morning, has given me reason to hope they did not perceive on my part any want of desire to receive them in the same spirit. I consider it, moreover, due to them, to the importance of the subject, and to the parishioners at large, that I should not merely answer "I cannot assent to your proposal," but should frankly state some of my principal reasons. I have written these reasons, lest in the inadvertence of public speaking I might express myself indistinctly, and be liable to be misunderstood or misrepresented.

These gentlemen offered me, certainly, tempting inducements in the confidence they felt, and the experience which, they said, had proved the beneficial operations of this plan in some places. I will not raise a question upon this point, because the reasons I have to submit do not depend on the probability of success or failure of that plan. Neither will I urge the strong objections which I could make to the voluntary system, because that course might give pain, and raise discussions foreign to the object of the meeting. I cannot, therefore, adopt the proposal :—

(1) Because to lay a rate and then make the collection *optional*, would be a contradiction in terms; to build with one hand, and pull down with the other.

(2) Because I *believe* and *preach* unreserved and *unequivocal obedience* to the law to be a Christian duty, and cannot, therefore, *consistently be a party* to any *evasion* of that obedience, or to make public law bend to private opinion.

(3) Because the plain and acknowledged intention of the law (however easy it may be, from *the imperfection of its provisions for carrying out that intention, to evade or obstruct it)* is that the *parishioners generally are bound to repair the churches, and provide for the decent performance of divine service.* Consequently, to consent to the proposed measure would be to consent to a quibble, to facilitate disobedience or evasion of that law which, as Christians, we are bound to obey while it is law.

(4) Because I cannot surrender the principle that a religious *national* establishment, for ever set aside for *national use*, ought to be maintained upon the same footing as *every other* national establishment, whether civil or military, scientific or useful, by a *general* and *equal* charge upon the property of the nation.

(5) Because, while the proposal made requires of me the public surrender of the principles of Christian and national duty, the payment of the rate does not call for any such sacrifice of principle on the part of those who are favourable to the voluntary system. They may pay the rate, not because they give up their own opinions, but because it is the law of the land, and as Christians they feel it their duty to obey it, and not set up private opinion so long as it shall continue law.

(6) Because church rate is a charge, not on persons, but upon property; not a tax recently put upon those who separated from the Church, but a charge annexed long before such separation took place — from time immemorial — to property generally, pressing equally, in proportion to the value of rateable property; not making him who has much and him who has little pay alike, but the larger property pay more and the smaller pay less.

(7) Because I have never seen any scriptural reason offered in which it could be a matter of conscience. If I purchased, rented, or inherited property in Turkey, which

from time immemorial had been subject to a lawful charge for the service and maintenance of a Mahometan mosque, I should offer so much less purchase money, or rent, or think the property of so much less value, in proportion to the amount of this charge, but I should never think that there was any conscience in withholding the payment of a charge to which my property was subject because I am not a Mahometan. I need hardly observe that this reasoning would apply more strongly, if possible, if the place for which my property was charged happened to be a place of worship for Christians from whom I only differed in *some* points, but with whom I *agreed* on many important points, especially *that the bible is the word of God, and Christ Jesus the only name whereby we may be saved.* This view of the liability of property would not be affected by the circumstance of my having, as an individual, to contribute to a place of worship entirely suited to my views. It might be an inconvenience to me that I could not use the public place of worship, but no reason for my withholding what had been lawfully appropriated to maintain it.

(8) Because this charge on property does not preclude the use of *voluntary* means, while its *abolition* would withdraw the additional means of *national* contribution for the supply of places of worship which are already far inadequate to the wants of our population, notwithstanding the noble voluntary efforts of both Churchmen and Dissenters, in *addition* to the lawful provision.

(9) Because any such concession of mine would be unjust to my brother clergy and churchmen in other parts of the kingdom, where I am well satisfied that the plan proposed must be an utter failure, and if attempted, would be injurious to the *religious interests* of the whole community. I should be purchasing popularity to myself, and a hollow truce, at the expense of increasing *their difficulties*, and of undermining the religious advantages of the whole nation.

Upon these grounds I find myself compelled to object to the proposal of Mr. Littlewood and Mr. Petrie, great as may be the temptation offered. I would most gladly purchase peace and unison. It is my present hope and desire, please God, to live and die at Rochdale, to have my own interest, and the interests of those nearer to me than myself, interwoven and inseparably connected with the welfare of this parish. I long to live upon those terms upon which as a fellow-man, and especially as a minister of the gospel, I ought to desire to live with my neighbours.

None can more earnestly desire peace and union than I do. Most gladly would I earn your good opinion, but not by a course by which I think that I should not long retain it, and know that I should certainly not deserve it, viz., by doing that which I am convinced is wrong for the sake of present expediency and popularity. I will gain you by an *honest, straightforward* course, or not at all. Your favour, upon other terms, would not be, on your part, worth giving, nor, on mine, worth receiving. Mr. Littlewood has frankly stated his intention of moving an amendment to the proposal for a rate. But I will not despair of his being influenced by such important considerations to alter his intention.

If I cannot convince you of the correctness of my views of church rates, I can at least fairly call on you as Christians not to obstruct or evade the *manifest intention* of the law as it now stands. If it can be *altered*, well and good, but as long as it *is* the

law, be subject to it for *conscience sake*, for the sake of the peace and welfare of the parish, and, above all, for the sake of Him who bids us render to all their dues, and to submit to every ordinance of God for the Lord's sake.

The highly respectable character of the churchwardens appointed, and the amount of the rate, will satisfy you that no abuse is intended. I shall leave the matter to the consideration of all parties, hoping that moderation and good feeling will prevail over party spirit, and even induce some sacrifices of the stiffness of opinion to the general good. I beg pardon for having taken up so much of your time, and thank you for your patient attention.

I will now proceed to the actual business of the meeting by calling on Mr. Brierley to lay before you the rate for which he and his colleagues intend to apply to the vestry. (*Ibid.*, July 18th, 1840.)

A rate of a halfpenny in the pound was then proposed by the vicar's warden, Mr. A. Brierley, to which an amendment was moved. After a considerable discussion the show of hands was declared to be in favour of the original motion. A poll being demanded, took place on the Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday following, from 12 to 5 o'clock, the votes being taken in the vestry by the vicar's warden. The chief pressure of the voting was on the last day, and a wall was thrown down by the crowd, and a man injured, and many people rolled down the hill into Mr. Samuel Taylor's field, behind Parker Street. The scale was turned by the Todmorden men, who were sent by the Messieurs Fielden in waggons and by train, and the result was that 3,981 votes were polled for the rate, and 4,047 against it, leaving a majority of 66 against the rate. During the contest Mr. James King, a Quaker, having entered the vestry room with his hat on, it was removed by some one called Radcliffe, and he had to walk to the house of a friend bareheaded. (*Manchester Guardian*, July 15th and 18th, 1840.)

The result of the contest was naturally unwelcome to local churchmen, and we are told that in consequence of it the bells were not rung, the clock was stopped, and the dispensary was closed for some time. (*Courier*, July 25th, 1840.) Not only so, but it was determined to test the matter afresh, and accordingly another parish meeting was summoned for July 30th. The parish had been excited in the meantime by highly-seasoned

placards, charging the church party with intimidation, with tampering with the register, &c., and the meeting was a very unruly one. One report says that when the church doors were thrown open, at about twenty minutes to two, there was a dreadful rush into the church whlch was soon filled, while a great crowd remained outside. At two o'clock the vicar and wardens appeared in the gallery, and were met by hisses, groaning, &c., while Mr. James Fielden, Mr. John Bright, and Mr. Barton, went into the pulpit and reading desk, and were loudly cheered. On account of the immense crowd it was decided to adjourn the meeting into the churchyard, whereupon the vicar with the incumbents of St. James' and Whitworth, the two curates, and two churchwardens planted themselves on the tombstone of James Taylor, while Mr. Fielden, Mr. Bright, and others were on the adjoining tombstone of Robert Marriott.

Mr. A. Brierley then read the following estimate of expenses—

	£	s.	d.
Bread and wine for the sacrament, and cleaning communion plate	7	1	0
Two new surplices, and washing and mending surplices.....	7	10	0
Clerk and beadle's salaries	10	0	0
Organist and blower.....	21	0	0
Bell ropes	4	4	0
Stationery	20	0	0
Coal and candles	4	0	0
Cleaning church	7	10	0
Visitation fees, and expenses attending the same	11	0	0
Repairing the church inside and out, churchyard wall, and gates	385	10	0
	£477	15	0

Mr. A. Brierley, in his speech, justified each of these items of the account. In answer to those who urged that the offertory should be devoted to supplying the sacred elements, he contended that the offertory was necessarily devoted to relieve the poor. In regard to the charge for surplices, the item had been first introduced by the wardens, who had been elected especially to effect a reform in these matters. The organist was a parish officer,

and not controlled by the churchwardens, nor could he be discharged by them, nor would the parishioners be so inhuman as to discharge an old blind man, who had been their servant for thirty years. The bell ropes were a legal item, since they were necessary for the church service. The salaries of the ringers and the expenses of maintaining the clock and tuning the organ had been excluded from the account as not absolutely necessary. In regard to the repairs of the churchyard walls and gates, an experienced builder in Manchester had been consulted, who was wholly unconnected with the parish, who had estimated the cost at 385*l.* 10*s.* Although a halfpenny rate would not cover the whole of these expenses, the wardens were determined to limit themselves to it, and to go as far in the expenditure as the money would allow. One expression of Mr. Brierley's, in which he spoke of the foundations of the steeple and the church being unsafe, was greeted with ironical approval by the crowd.

Mr. Brierley having concluded, a rate of a halfpenny was moved by Mr. Thomas Holden, and seconded by Mr. Charles Butterworth. The latter gentleman remarked that when in 1836 Mr. Kelsall, Mr. Leach, and Mr. Heap were elected as churchwardens, with the intention that they should reform matters, they, having made the usual declaration, felt themselves bound to provide all the necessaries enumerated in the estimate, and the rate they levied was granted without a dissentient voice. In 1838 anti-church-rate men had again been elected, and had done the same. The parishioners were only asked to do what they had done in former years.

Mr. John Bright then rose, and delivered a speech which has become famous as the earliest recorded of his fervid orations. In moving an amendment that no church rate be granted till the 30th July, 1841, and that, meanwhile, the meeting stand adjourned, he made full use of his powers of denunciation and sarcasm. He styled the claim as one involving a disregard of common decency. In regard to the vicar's statement about the intention of the law, he contended that it was clearly the intention

of the law that when a clergyman came into possession of a living he should pay his first year's income to a fund for extending the usefulness of the church, instead of which the vicar and his brethren contented themselves with paying a sum equivalent to the value of the living when its income was only 100*l.* a year. When, in 1834, the parish refused to grant a rate, the churchwardens had, nevertheless, proceeded to levy it, and dragged six of the inhabitants of the town into the Ecclesiastical Courts, and threw upon them an expense of nearly 400*l.* The wardens were defeated, but during the contest continued to distrain. Mr. Bright then quoted one of those telling anecdotes with which he has so often led a crowd of working people captive. "They entered," he said, "the house of an inhabitant of Spotland, poor James Brearley, who was then on his death-bed. The illegal claim upon the poor weaver was *fourpence;* they seized a looking glass, but this would not cover the costs, and their ruthless hands then seized his family bible and sold it for an illegal rate, and a fortnight ago, during the poll in the vestry, the widow of that man came and tendered her vote against the rate. I pointed her out as she came to the polling tables to those who stood around, and said, 'That is the woman from whose husband you took a bible for an illegal claim of fourpence, when he was on his death-bed.' A young man, the son of a clergyman, but not of this parish, stood by and heard this. He replied, 'Yes, and I would have sold his bed from under him.' That young man is now present; I will not further expose him, but he knows it, and, if he dare, he may come forward and deny it." Mr. Bright then denounced with the bitter phrases he has always had at command, the intimidation which he affirmed had been used by the employers of labour to make their hands vote for the rate, and continued — "The income of the vicarage was returned in 1831 at 1,730*l.* per annum; add to this the vicar's house and grounds, and the renewals of leases, and the letting of more plots of land, and the present income is much more than that. Who gets the fees for christenings, marriages, and funerals?

and why, I ask, are any fees paid? The Popish Council of Trent and the States Assembly at Orleans, in 1651, declared that the payment of fees for the sacraments was simony and a scandal to the Church, and yet Protestant clergymen unblushingly charge for administering the sacraments of the Church. . . . . My townsmen, I look on that old building, that venerable building—for its antiquity gives it a venerable air—with a feeling of pain. I behold it as a witness of ages gone by, as one of the numberless monuments of the piety or zeal of our ancestors, as a connecting-link between this and former ages. . . . I look on it with a feeling of affection did I not know that it forms the centre of that source of discord with which our neighbourhood has for years been afflicted, and did it not form the general bed wherein strife and bitter jarrings were peculiarly produced, to spread their baneful influence over this densely-peopled parish. I would that venerable fabric were the representative of a really reformed Church—of a Church separated from the baneful connection of the State—of a Church depending upon her own resources, upon the zeal of her people, upon the faithfulness of her principles, and upon the blessings of her spiritual Head. . . . . My friends, the time is coming when a State Church will be unknown in England, and it rests with you to accelerate or retard that happy consummation. I call upon you and yourselves for the contest which is impending, for the conflict is approaching, when the people of England will be masters of their own fate, when they will have to choose between evil and religious liberty, and the iron hoof, the mental degradation, of a hireling State priesthood. . . . ."

This exasperating and bitter address was seconded by Mr. Thomas Holden, who said that on the previous occasion 800 voters had come from Todmorden, but this time they would poll 1,000. The show of hands was in favour of the amendment by a majority, and a poll was demanded by Mr. Holden.

The contest was the fiercest and most exciting that had ever been known anywhere, and the poll was the largest which had

up to that time ever been made. The National School was appointed as the polling place, and the Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday following fixed as the polling days; the poll was to close at five on Saturday. The excitement was very great, "coaches bringing up the voters of either party, with banners floating, and the sound of music rolled in on every side, all was bustle, life, and animation." On the first day, at twenty minutes past twelve, between thirty and forty waggons and carts arrived from Todmorden, filled with voters of both sexes, and all ages, among them an old woman of ninety. They were accompanied by two bands of music, besides several flags and banners streaming in the air. They extended from the top of Yorkshire Street, along Cheetham Street, to the National School. A little after one many waggons arrived from Bacup, with colours flying; they bore a red banner, showing they were against the rate, and were greeted with shouts of welcome. Meanwhile, the vicar was most active, one day at Bacup, another at Littleborough or Milnrow, distributing handbills, and encouraging his supporters.

During the contest he issued an address, in which he controverted the views maintained by Mr. Bright. He appealed to an often quoted statute of the time of Edward I., which not only recognized the duty of the parishioners, but prescribed a severe method by which its performance was to be enforced. The law of first-fruits, he said, was obeyed by the clergy, though they felt that in its origin it was a most despotic and unjust encroachment. Church rates, he declared, were a charge upon property annexed before dissent was known, and subject to which they took their property, and in nine cases out of ten was a charge upon landlords and not upon occupiers. He characterized Mr. Bright's instance of the seizure of the Bible as a stage scene, got up to exasperate the passions and blind the judgment of the ignorant, a trick which had been got up again and again by the movers of agitation against the Church, and a bare-faced imposture practised on the people. People who had their goods seized for church rates were no more persecuted than

those whose goods might be seized for the poor rate, for rent, for debt, and for refusing to pay any other lawful demand. The plea that a man may evade the intention of the law because he can escape its penalties, would be a good rule for rogues and swindlers, but a bad one for real Christians. The vicar concluded with a number of more pointedly-religious considerations, and urged the parishioners to obey the law as long as it was the law for the Lord's sake, cheerfully and honestly. (*Courier*, August 15th, 1840.)

Charges of the most violent kind were made by either party against the other, both in placards on the walls and in the press. "Treating, bribery, intimidation, manufacturing of votes," were some of the offences alleged. For one hovel of sods, in which wheelbarrows were kept on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, we are told that twenty-two labourers were constituted voters by the Church party. On the other hand we read that "the anti-rate mob were systematically drilled and dragooned to their business," &c., &c.

When a red rag or favour was shown, a clear passage to the door was invariably made for the voters against the rate; when, on the other hand, a person approached who was suspected of being in favour of the rate, he was obstructed, jostled, and treated with all sorts of violence. A chaise belonging to Mr. Pilling, filled with voters for the rate, was attempted to be upset; Mr. Schofield, was knocked down and kicked very violently; Mr. Woods, the attorney, was very severely kicked and had his coat torn; and the traces of Mr. Vavasour's carriage were cut. As it became impossible to move about, and the turbulence was increasing, the military were summoned from the barracks by Mr. Clement Royds, and they marched with bayonets fixed, into the midst of the crowd before the schools, but at the instance of Mr. Wm. Chadwick, another magistrate, they were presently withdrawn. A number of voters having been obstructed in obtaining their certificates, which, at the instance of Mr. Bright and his friends, and to prevent

personation, were only granted at the overseer's offices, the vicar prolonged the poll for an hour, a course which was strongly protested against by Mr. Bright. The numbers were now counted, when it was found that there were in favour of the rate 6,594; against it, 6,481; majority, 113. Of the voters from Todmorden there were only 146 for the rate, while 1,340 voted against it.

The victors were naturally jubilant, and at the instance of the crowd in the churchyard the church bells were once more set ringing.

On the 12th August, a public meeting was held at Mr. Petrie's new foundry, to protest against the recent decision about church rates, of which Mr. John Howard, the chief constable, was chairman. A resolution censuring the vicar and churchwardens for again agitating the parish, was moved by the Rev. David Hewitt, and seconded by Mr. John Kershaw. Another resolution, charging the vicar with partiality and injustice in the decision he made as chairman of the court, and especially noticing the case of a boy named Healy, who was allowed to vote although only 12 or 14 years old, was moved by Mr. Barton, and seconded by Mr. Whitworth. Mr. John Bright then moved that the church rate was illegal, and that it was the duty of the opponents of the rate to use every legal means to resist it. He accused the vicar's party of having encouraged drunkenness, bribery, and intimidation, and of introducing strife into the parish, and described the vicar as conducted through the streets by the civil magistrates and the police, amidst the shouts and yells, the hootings and hissings, of an insulted people. He denounced Mr. Roby for having written to the directors of the railway company to express his astonishment that some of the workmen on the line had been suffered to vote against the rate; and Mr. Clement Royds, his son, and his clerk, Mr. Wood, for heading the military in High Street, and praised Mr. Chadwick for ordering the military off the ground, and concluded by saying the churchwardens themselves must demand the rate before legal proceedings could be commenced, and if they should be so foolish or mad as to resort to that course, the Religious

Freedom Society would contest every case with them in a court of justice. (*Manchester Guardian*, August 15th, 1840.)

On the conclusion of the poll, Dr. Molesworth issued an address, in which he did not, certainly, spare his opponents. In thanking "the consistent Churchmen and religious Dissenters who had raised themselves above the powers and art of sectarian jealousy and party intolerance, supported the payment of a lawful charge on their own property, and were not tempted by the desire of pocketing, under the plea of conscience, what the law had appropriated to another," he characterised his opponents as a combination of mistaken dissenters, with socialists, chartists, jacobins, infidels, and atheists, urged on by sectarian jealousy, political rancour, inflammatory appeals to avarice, and to the worst passions of our nature. He defended a second poll on the ground that the churchwardens were bound to require a rate to discharge the duties which the parish had imposed on them, especially as they were aware that the majority of the previous poll had been gained by fraud, intimidation, and violence. In answer to the charge that he had *troubled the parish*, he cited the case of Elijah and Ahab, and declared that it was those who called on the people to resist the law of the land, and who endeavoured to force their own unlawful wills and decisions by *fraud*, by *bribery*, by *intimidation*, by mob violence, who were really responsible for such a contest, and that he would not be deterred from upholding truth and order by an unjust imputation. He deplored these evils, and had tried by reasoning, by entreaty, to let him remain in peace, and had told them that by obeying the law they need not compromise their opinions on the merits of the voluntary system.

In regard to the charge that he had extended the hours of polling, he had done so to give an opportunity of recording their votes to those ratepayers whom he believed, upon good evidence, to have been obstructed by artifice and violence from exercising their undoubted right, in accordance with his announcement at the commencement that he would use his utmost powers, as chairman, to enable every man, be his opinions what they might, to

have his right of voting. He described the tactics of his opponents as unjust and tyrannical attempts to defraud or intimidate the voters, and spoke of the folly of the pretended advocates for the people's rights, and of their barefaced inconsistency, hoping that the contest would hasten the day of their exposure, and deliver the parish from the thraldom of the factious and ungodly errors under which it has been too long in bondage. He complained of the personal abuse and false statements aimed at himself, the sneers at his motives, misrepresentations of his conduct, and all the arts by which appeals to the ignorant and wicked may look for success, and contrasted his open defence of himself with the covert and anonymous attacks of his opponents, and apostrophising one opponent especially. He said, "I have not entered upon the conduct of some of those young men who have taken upon themselves to lead this great parish—the blasphemies in the Church—the ruffian insults offered by them to their elders, the most respectable and respected citizens of Rochdale. I would not *name* these persons, but they will be conscious of this allusion, and I make it, not to expose them, but in the hope that they will, when more calm, accept my counsel, to repent and apologize to the parties outraged, not for the satisfaction of those parties, but for their own sakes, and as the only opening to retrieve their own character," &c., &c. (*Ibid.*)

The vicar had, no doubt, been very much provoked by the virulence of the abuse which had been poured upon him, but it must be confessed that these phrases, after he had won the fight, were not altogether conciliatory and generous, nor were they likely to make it more easy for him to direct the spiritual life of a parish already torn asunder by factious and internecine strife.

He was answered, a few days later, by Mr. Bright in a phillippic, in which he returned blow for blow in the same temper and spirit. He denounced what he described as the intimidation and corruption of the Church party, and the unfairness of the chairman. He singled out the vicar's warden by name for special abuse,

and accused him of discharging workpeople for having voted against the rate. He apostrophized Mr. Clement Royds, whose feats of generalship seemed ingloriously confined to the narrow limits of besieging a parish church, or of covering the retreat of a vicar. He denounced the vicar for dissolving the meeting (when he demanded that the books should be examined and the numbers verified), while his despicable tools clamoured around and shouted "Hurrah for the Church." In answer to the vicar's charge of certain men pocketing, under the plea of conscience, what the law had appropriated to another, he fiercely threw the *argumentum ad hominem* that "the vicar was absorbing something like 2,000*l.* a year of national property for the performance of duties which the curate had undertaken for years for little more than one-tenth of that sum." Jibe followed jibe in quick succession, and thus the fires of sectarian strife were liberally supplied with fuel on each side. Thus was begun a long polemic, which did not end for two generations.

A week later the partizans of both sides, with bands, paraded the town, one side claiming a majority of 113, the other of 15. The two came to blows in Yorkshire Street; several heads were broken, shopkeepers put up their shutters, and some windows were broken in the Town Hall. (*Ibid.*, August 22nd.) Each party also indulged in a Te Deum of its own, and had a tea party to celebrate its victory, real or moral.

On the 18th of January, 1841, nine persons were summoned before the magistrates for not paying church rates. The charges were heard at the Flying Horse, in Parker Street, before Messrs. Clement Royds, John Fenton, William Chadwick, Henry Kelsall, and other magistrates. The court-room and streets, we read, were crowded with partizans of both sides. The majority of the magistrates disallowed the claim on the ground that the summonses were incorrectly drawn. Although further proceedings were taken, the rate was never collected.

The struggle was not, however, entirely ended with this appeal to the courts. The vicar fired a pretty continuous volley of

smart pamphlets and addresses at his opponents, and in May, 1842, with his son, the present vicar of Spotland, started a monthly magazine, which was entitled *Common Sense, or Everybody's Magazine*, which was avowedly published "to carry the war into the enemy's country, and in a spirit according to the mode of warfare used against the Church." This was speedily answered by a counter-publication called the *Vicar's Lantern*. We have read the greater part of both these polemical prints, which lived a little more than a year and a half, the *Vicar's Lantern* outliving its opponent. Strong partizans will find them still exhilarating reading; there is plenty of hard hitting, of abuse, of quotations of scandalous stories against Church parsons and Dissenting ministers, a free appeal to "Hudibras" on either side, and pervading *Common Sense* (which we cannot help feeling is, as a whole), better written, we can trace everywhere the strong, clear, biting English of the practiced controversialist, Dr. Molesworth, and we can thankfully say that it is a great gain that this style of warfare in religious matters has somewhat moderated.

The elections of churchwardens continued to be fought on the same lines as to their approval or non-approval of church rates. The last of these contests of any real interest was that of 1843, when the advocates of church rates mustered 1,140 votes, and those who opposed them 2,963. This result was a serious disappointment to the vicar, who issued an address, in which he declared the cause of the Church had been betrayed, and that Rochdale, not for the first time, had witnessed the sacrifice of public principles to *selfish* and *personal* considerations, to indolence, prejudice, avarice, or resentment. He had heard of three excuses for this unworthy apostacy:—(1) Indolence, inconvenience, expense, and weariness of struggling against the brute violence, calumny, and falsehood by which the enemies of the church carried on their agitation; (2) the plea that if the rate were obtained it would be levied on churchmen only; the third he referred to with sorrow, and hoped few only had been actuated by it, but he had reason to fear that *some* (because he had thought

fit to assail public or private wrong, or to assert public or private right according to his own, and contrary to their, judgment) were predetermined not only not to support the Church, but to *rejoice* in her prostration under the feet of her enemies, in the vain and paltry hope that their private spite might be gratified by the supposed disgrace of the vicar. This, too, at a time when in addition to the usual malice of the enemies of the Church a special design had been avowed to put in churchwardens who would *obstruct* the measures of the legislature to facilitate the education of the people in the principles of the Church, &c. Instead of disgracing the vicar, they had heaped upon their own head guilt and disgrace and infamy, &c., &c.

The church rate question *in Rochdale* was now finally settled. Mr. John Bright, in his well-known speech on church rates in the House of Commons, said—"I live in a town in which the contest about church rates has been fought in past years with a vigour, a determination, and, if you like the word, animosity (laughter) which has not been surpassed in any other parish in the kingdom. Hon. gentlemen opposite, who profess to be in favour of what is called a stand-up fight, will admit my fairness in stating that so far as their friends are concerned in that parish nothing could exceed their activity, nothing could exceed the profuseness with which they were willing to pay for a contest to make all contribute to a church which they were not themselves willing adequately to support. . . . I believe the expenditure would not be less than 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* a year. . . . Well, what was the result? That the church rate was for ever abolished. So entirely was it abolished, that when the election of churchwardens took place, in a subsequent year, I saw two lists of names offered by the church-rate party themselves to the ratepayers, and the great plea which each had for the suffrage of the electors was that they never again would consent to the imposition of a church rate in the parish."

In reviewing the struggle from the neutral ground which we can now occupy, and putting aside the heat which gathered

round it, it may be fairly said, I think, with the vicar, that the question of the propriety or impropriety of church rates was a question to be fought out in the legislature rather than in a parish vestry. It may be further said that the vicar and the Church party were fighting for what was distinctly legal and distinctly a privilege of the Church, sanctioned by long prescription.

Mr. J. Bright, in his speech in the House of Commons, said, very frankly — "If this Church be a national establishment, you cannot by law insist that its support can be drawn only from a portion of the population. I agree with you in that. If I were a Churchman I would never consent to it, and not being a Churchman I wholly repudiate the doctrine."

When we leave this high ground of principle, however, and discuss another question, namely, the prudence of these struggles, it is not so easy to come to a judicial conclusion. The legislature left the decision as to whether there should be a rate or no to the parishes, and it may well be said that the officials, who were trustees for the church, had no right to surrender anything belonging to it without a struggle. Such struggle, however, may be too prolonged, and it cannot be said that when the chances of obtaining a rate had become so dubious, that it was altogether prudent to fight the battle again and again, when it involved so much social friction and bitterness in the parish.

Dr. Molesworth at this time was in the heyday of his intellectual strength, which was only very partially exhausted in fighting the battle of church rates. We find him as the champion of the then by no means popular High Church party in Rochdale, having a controversy with the late Canon Stowell on the respective merits of the Additional Curates' Society and the Pastoral Aid Society, a discussion in which it is no disgrace to Canon Stowell to say that he was hardly a match for the skilful literary duellist who was his opponent.

In the latter part of 1841 the vicar had a disagreeable and not very seemly dispute with Mr. Clement Royds, in which he cer-

tainly had the sympathy and support of the Conservative and Church parties in the parish. Sir Robert Peel having returned to power in September, 1841, the leading Conservatives in the town recommended a list of local gentry to be made magistrates. This list having been sent to the Chancellor of the Duchy, was by him remitted to Mr. Clement Royds, the chairman of the Rochdale bench, for his consideration. The latter struck the names out of the list, including that of the vicar, retaining only that of Mr. Entwistle, and substituted the names of Lieutenant Butterworth and the Rev. Mr. Cotton of Spotland, neither of whom were recommended by their antecedents or their gifts for such a responsible position. The nomination of Mr. Cotton in lieu of Dr. Molesworth was no doubt a serious personal affront to the latter, and he resented it by publishing the following caustic letter:—

To Clement Royds, Esq.

Rochdale, Jan. 6, 1842.

Sir,—I have waited till I could make myself satisfactorily acquainted with all the circumstances of the late appointments to the commission of the peace in this district. Having done so, I think a public statement, by one who is your equal in station or character, who will make himself responsible for his assertions, and whom you may answer without compromising your dignity, is due to many parties. It is due to the Chancellor of the Duchy—it is due to you—it is due to me—it is due to the Conservatives of Rochdale—it is due to those gentlemen on whom a public slight and a private discourtesy have been passed—and it is due to the vindication of public principle and private confidence. I told you that I heard from many parties the expressions of disgust and indignation felt, and that I sympathised entirely in those feelings. Whenever the subject has been mooted before me, I have not hesitated to declare my sentiments. It is not fair that your proceedings in a matter so gravely affecting you should be condemned in the fugitive terms of gossip, with which you cannot grapple, nor that my statements in such a matter should be open to the misrepresentations to which mere conversation, when reported, is liable. The question, too, is of public concern, and should be brought honestly and distinctly before the public.

The first step will be to state clearly what I believe to have been your proceedings, and in what respects I consider them to involve a dereliction of your duty to the public, and to your immediate neighbours.

The general outline of the affair, by whomsoever drawn up, which appeared in a Manchester Whig print, was faithful. You would not act with your neighbours, nor with the Conservatives as a body. They have on all occasions shewn you every respect, and striven to conciliate you to co-operate heartily with them, in any position

you would choose. But you must rule and dictate — not co-operate. You settle everything in a clique of your own hangers-on, and by arts of your own. Your nominees are before the public. Let the list of the Conservative Association also be before us, that we may see which party was actuated by *public principle*, and which by *private ambition and pique*.

CONSERVATIVE LIST.

John Entwistle, Esq., Foxholes.
James Dearden, Esq., Lord of the Manor.
James Fenton, Esq., late Conservative Candidate.
John Roby, Esq., Chairman of Conservative Association.
The Vicar.

Was this a list which they need be ashamed of comparing with your nominees, or which you ought, with such finesse and eagerness, to have striven to prevent the Chancellor from considering without bias? Has not each individual there a public fitness, from station or public service, to do credit to the Chancellor's selection, and to give respectability to the bench? Is there anything of petty or private interest apparent in such a selection? Look at your nominees, and say honestly, can you ask the same questions respecting their selection, with the expectation of getting from any candid man the same answer? But let us enter more into particulars.

You advised and influenced the Chancellor in the appointments now made. Your *position* justified you in so doing, and it also justified the Chancellor in giving you his confidence and *presuming* that you would not abuse it. It is clear that the object, which a Conservative government ought to have in view, would be to evince their desire of counteracting the more eager partisan appointments of the late ministry, of placing on the bench men whose station would tend to raise it from degradation, and whose independence, character, and education would not only as far as possible ensure an enlightened and honourable administration of justice, but also tend to give confidence, that no *private* or *party* influence should intimidate or bias their judgment. If you gave your advice according to these principles, no blame can attach to you. But, if you did not, you have *abused the confidence of a very high public functionary*. And the general impression among the people of Rochdale is, that you have done so—that you made him the *catspaw of your own private ambition and petty jealousies*, and caused him to be the instrument of insult to some of the most respectable and honoured of your neighbours, and to the most zealous and praiseworthy supporters of those important principles which the present administration professes to uphold. If he has done this *without advice, he* is to blame; and has done that which is more offensive and ungracious than any Whig appointment. If *with advice*, he is blameless; but his *adviser* deserves to be marked with the strongest reprobation. I believe you to have been his adviser, and that in your advice you have *abused his confidence and sacrificed the public cause and the harmony of the neighbourhood*, to your own lust of petty despotism, and your private jealousies and resentments. This belief is founded on your general conduct; on the nature of the appointments and exclusions you procured; and on the course you took, and the feelings you manifested in procuring them. In your general conduct you have given rise to a persuasion that this is not, by any

means, the first occasion in which the public good and the Conservative cause have been sacrificed to the above feelings and interests. But on this point I shall not dwell. I will examine the *appointments* and exclusions which you procured. With respect to your appointments, it is so difficult to separate personal from public censure, that I feel very great delicacy in the remarks I have to make, and which ought to be made freely. And, in the present stage of the business, I wish to avoid *all discussion* of their personal fitness. I confine myself to the mere question of the *comparative* fitness of your two nominees for a *preference* over those whom you have been the means of excluding, viz.—Mr. Dearden, Mr. James Fenton, Mr. Roby, and myself.

Your nominees have neither (as far as I can learn) any landed property, nor do they live in a style suitable to the place into which you have thrust them. In the last point it would be invidious to draw any comparison. My own case I reserve for distinct consideration, as less important, and as involving points peculiar to itself.

Now, sir, it is but a rational question; on what grounds could you recommend the Chancellor of the Duchy to *prefer* the Rev. Mr. Cotton and Lieutenant Butterworth to these men? The people here can discover none, but a desire to have *two nominees* who should be *under your influence*, and *mere puppets in your hands*, instead of independent and equal gentlemen, who would exercise their own judgment freely. With respect to Mr. Dearden, you can have no objection but one, which I trust you will not take up, viz., his being a barrister, and therefore entitled to take precedence of you on the bench as chairman.

To Mr. J. Fenton you told me yourself that your objection was, that there was already *one* magistrate in his *bank*, and only one in *yours*. What! are the great interests of the fit appointment of magistrates, the concord of the Conservative party, and the justice due to respective members of society, to be all trampled in the dust, for the petty jealousies of two country banks?

To Mr. Roby you are stated (and my own observation confirms it) to entertain personal dislike, and to have gratified, in the present case, that feeling. So much for the appointments and *exclusions* you have procured. Before I proceed to the real point, however, it may be as well that I should say a word about your other nominee, *Mr. Entwistle.* Respecting the propriety of his appointment no difference of opinion prevails. If you had procured his appointment in *conjunction* with all, or any of the above individuals, it would have been approved, and your *motives and conduct unimpeached.* But though no question is raised as to his fitness, your *motive* in procuring his appointment conjointly with two persons notoriously under your influence, naturally is open to suspicion of being the *same* in all three cases. Whether your purpose will be answered or not is another question, which only time can solve. But *appearances* give strong ground for attributing your preference to this motive, and for the presumption that you have abused the confidence of the Chancellor of the Duchy, in making him your catspaw for this, and to offer a public insult to your neighbours, and the most meritorious of the Conservative party. This will appear further from your conduct in the proceedings.

Did you *consult* those gentlemen whose position alone you cannot deny gives them a claim to the compliment? Did you *desire* to see their *wishes* and *feelings considered*,

and their affections conciliated towards the Conservative administration? I tell you that you did not—nay more, you did all you could to prevent even *their representations* from coming before the Chancellor, till he should have positively come to a *decision against* them. You rushed up to London for the purpose of *first* getting the *ear* of the Chancellor, and influencing him to offer this insult *before* the reasons on the other side could be *heard*. You hastened to *outstrip* this recommendation, in which *you knew, or at least believed, those gentlemen to be included*. And when the appointment of your illustrious batch of nominees was announced to you, it was received by you with undisguised exultation, and as a PERSONAL TRIUMPH! And a triumph over whom? A triumph over the most *respectable* and *respected* of your friends and neighbours! A triumph over those Conservatives who were slaving for the cause they professed *in common with you*, while you gave but cold support at the utmost! And, above all, it was a triumph over the *confidence of the Chancellor*, whom you deluded to be the instrument of this ungrateful, offensive, and disingenuous intrigue. I am aware that Mr. Dearden, in former time and under *other circumstances*, declined acting. But did he or Mr. Fenton *authorise* you to pass him over *now*? Did you acquaint them with the *nominees* for whom they were to *make* way? Did you consult them at all? Did you not *rush up to London to outstrip* and to cause the rejection of a list in which you believed their names were included, and which you knew would be *most popular* with *all the Conservative party*, while you also knew that your own list would be most disgusting?

I will now come to my own case. The vicars of Rochdale (and the importance of the parish warrants it) have, for many years, been invariably thought fit persons for the commission of the peace. I believe that even the late administration (partisan as they were in all their appointments) would not have excluded me, if I had thought fit to ask it. All parties acknowledge that, if any clergyman were appointed, the vicar should be the person. I trust that, in point of character, or other qualification, I am not so extraordinarily unfit for it, that this *rule* should have been so violated in my case, that I should not only be omitted, but see another clergyman, in my parish, selected in *preference* to me. I am not inferior in family to the person appointed; I possess ample landed qualification, besides my living, of which the revenue arises directly from land, and comprises a large portion of the town of Rochdale. In age, in experience, in business, in establishment—in public or private character, in independence, in acquirements, in study, in moral or professional conduct, I am not aware of any superior qualifications of your nominee over me, which should render such a preference of him, or such a slight of me, necessary. Yet you procure my exclusion, and the appointment of a mere curate in my parish; one who is not actually *presented* and *inducted* into the *freehold* of the church, but is only nominated and licensed, just the same as a stipendiary curate. A more offensive proceeding cannot be well imagined. And it is rendered more so by the disingenuous manner in which you have effected it.

In this matter it would be difficult to say that the vicar had not been greatly wronged and ill-used, and that his justification

was not complete, although it may well be doubted whether to hang such a line full of dirty linen in the full gaze of the opposite party was quite the most judicious thing to do.

In 1843 Dr. Molesworth is again found printing an attack upon some of his leading parishioners. This was considered very unseemly, even by the vicar's best friends, since it was entirely a private squabble, and one in which the public had no interest of any kind. It arose out of the proposed marriage of Miss Entwistle of Foxholes to Mr. Mackinnon, the vicar's nephew. The vicar, Mr. Mackinnon, senr., Mr. Entwistle, and Mr. Ramsay, were appointed trustees of the marriage settlement. The vicar wished to secure the appointment of solicitor to the trust to his nominee, and being thwarted, at once rushed into print and attacked Mr. Entwistle and Mr. Ramsay in most unpardonable terms.

We next find him engaged in another struggle, in which he was most clearly within his legal rights, but which brought upon him a great deal of odium. When Dr. Hay died he left a memorial for his successor, calling his attention to the fact that certain leases which had been made by the Rochdale vicars pursuant to the Vicarage Act, previously quoted, were at law forfeited by a breach of covenant.

Most of the land to which these leases related lay between Summer Castle, an old mansion situated on the top of the hill, and Drake Street, and was largely open fields; this had been leased for many years to a few people, including Mr. Entwistle, the Smiths of Summer Castle, Mrs. Howard, Mr. Taylor, etc., and the breach consisted in the lessees not having put buildings upon the land as required by the leases. As the whole term was only for 99 years, and more than one half of this had expired, it would not have been profitable for the lessees then to erect buildings on the land, and on the other hand the church was clearly entitled, on the surrender of the land, to have it covered with buildings. The Doctor at once gave the lease-holders notice that they must fulfil the covenants in their leases or be prepared to

have them cancelled, and he fixed a certain value for the land to settle the matter by compromise, without recourse to law. Some accepted this course; others declined, and appealed to the Court of Queen's Bench, where, after a lengthened trial, the decision was given in favour of Dr. Molesworth on every point. "This step by no means made him popular, and an outcry was raised against him; but the Doctor's position was unassailable. As trustee for the temporalities of the church in the parish, he was clearly bound to defend its rights, and his position was amply justified by the decision of the court."

The vicar afterwards obtained an Act of Parliament to confirm some of the leases, on certain conditions, and the Hon. R. Denman sat at the Wellington Hotel on the 26th of February, 1847, as arbitrator.

In October, 1844, Dr. Molesworth took the chair at a meeting of the Rochdale Literary and Philosophical Society, where he met his recent antagonist, Mr. Bright. The proceedings were reported in a pamphlet, and the speeches of both speakers, on this neutral ground, are in marked contrast to the polemics of two years before.

The old Grammar School, which had been founded in the days of vicar Midgley, had now become dilapidated. Its quaint, homely picturesqueness, which may be gathered from a lithograph that was published, was hardly compatible with the conveniences required in a modern school, while its situation in the questionable neighbourhood of School Lane was very unsatisfactory. The vicar exerted himself to have it rebuilt, as we now see it, in the fine situation on Sparrow Hill. He also succeeded in building the parochial schools, which stand close by, which, through the skill and energy of their master, Mr. Wrigley, became more famous, probably, than any other similar institution in the kingdom.

We now reach the period when the very unfortunate conflict took place between the vicar of Rochdale and the newly appointed bishop, Dr. James Prince Lee. The latter had been the

head master of the Birmingham Grammar School, and was widely known as a refined Greek scholar, whose capacity may be gathered from the fact that three such gifted men as the present Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Durham, and Dr. Westcott, were his pupils at one time. On his appointment to the See of Manchester, a person named Guttridge published a charge of drunkenness against him, a charge which was completely answered, and which, it must be said, was one of the most indecent that could be preferred against a church dignitary with such responsibilities as a bishop, except on the clearest proof. Dr. Molesworth did not wait for this, but at once wrote two letters to the Archbishop, pointing out the damage that would accrue to the Church if Dr. Lee were not compelled to clear himself from the charge, and he went so far as to print a public protest against the appointment. Here again it must be said that the vicar seemed careless of the effect that the raising of such issues must necessarily have upon the Church itself and the cause of religion. The bishop, whose health was not good, and who was naturally an exceedingly irritable man, never forgave the attack, and it would have proved him possessed of exceptional patience if he had done so. Everyone will, I suppose, agree with his protest that before rushing into print on such a charge it would have been well to have first communicated with himself, and with the following phrases referring to the vicar's behaviour. "I am utterly at a loss," he says, "to reconcile it with a proper sense of your dignity as a beneficed clergyman, much less with due respect for the authorities by whom I have been recommended and approved for the high station proposed to me, or for the Church at large." This most unfortunate and unseemly quarrel, which should have been kept behind the screen, was made the subject of public correspondence and of showers of pamphlets, etc., and the real sufferers were the churchmen of Rochdale, since their rights and conveniences were little considered in these struggles of the arena. The first occasion on which the two combatants were ranged on opposite sides was when the question

of enlarging the burial ground was raised, and it was finally determined to have a cemetery. The churchyard was rapidly being filled, and it was necessary to make fresh provision. At length, on Friday, the 24th of September, 1852, a meeting of the parishioners was held in the Parish Church, to take this matter into consideration, the chair being occupied by Mr. Matthew Weston, who was a churchwarden at the time. As the first public movement to supply enlarged burial accommodation, the proceedings of the meeting are interesting, and deserve notice, especially when viewed in the light of subsequent events. It seems that the vicar and churchwardens had had the subject under their consideration for some time, for they came prepared to recommend a scheme for enlarging the burial ground, with every detail of cost which was necessary to guide the decision of the vestry. Mr. Richard Hunt (*'torney* Hunt, as he was irreverently called) seems to have been the mouthpiece of the churchwardens on this occasion, and he stated that after considerable enquiry they had come to the conclusion that the better plan would be to add some portion of Broadfield to the present new burial ground, and he said the vicar had consented to take 1,200*l.* for a portion of this land. The building of an enclosure wall would cost 425*l.*, and the making of a new vicar's drive, as the road hitherto used would be absorbed in the enlargement, would cost 50*l.*; consecration and other fees were estimated to be 35*l.*, which would make a total of 1,710*l.*, and this it was proposed to raise by a church rate on the whole parish.

There was considerable sparring between Mr. J. Nield and Mr. Thomas Livesey, who was then chief constable, and the discussion was continued by Mr. Samuel Taylor, who thought that cheaper and more eligible land could be procured; by Mr. Edward Taylor, who advocated the erection of a cemetery; by Mr. Whittaker, who spoke highly of the vicar for withdrawing his claim for 400*l.* of arrears of rent for the new burial ground, which, however, it had been decided by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners he could not claim; and by Mr. John Ashworth, who

also inclined to the idea of a new cemetery. Matters were brought to a crisis by Mr. Samuel Fielden of Todmorden, who stood on the top of a pew, and grasping one of the huge pillars, and in a very excited speech, moved "That no rate be granted for any purpose whatever." This was seconded and ultimately carried by a large majority; and with votes of thanks to the chairman the meeting separated.

Following up this vestry meeting, a general meeting of the inhabitants was held in the Public Hall on the 4th of October of the same year, with Mr. Livesey in the chair, to consider the propriety of going to Parliament for a bill, not only to make a cemetery, but also to provide baths and wash-houses. Here it was resolved that measures should be taken to obtain an act for making a new cemetery, and other purposes. This was the origin of the Rochdale Improvement Act of 1853, many of whose provisions were strenuously opposed by the vicar. "He sought to have a chaplain and clerk appointed by himself for the cemetery, to be paid by the town, to have power to fix the levels of Molesworth Street, and to throw the cost of erecting a bridge over the river, at the bottom of that street, upon the ratepayers. He also sought the removal of the cattle market, the appointment of a permanent auditor, and the dismissal of Mr. Barton, who had taken a very conspicuous part in opposing church rates, from the office of surveyor." The vicar pressed his opposition both in the House of Commons and the House of Lords. The bishop as vigorously took the other side, and the result was that Dr. Molesworth failed to carry any of his proposals. He always complained of the clerical arrangements at the cemetery, and it is worthy of notice that by the Vicarage Act of 1866 a curate is now appointed to the cemetery who is paid out of the vicarage funds.

On December 7th, 1850, Dr. Molesworth lost his wife, who had been his close companion for 35 years. She was buried in the parish church, where a tablet was put up to her memory.

Dr. Molesworth married for the second time in 1854, Harriet, widow of F. T. Bridges, Esq,, and daughter of Sir R. Affleck,

Bart., whose devotion to the vicar and to the various schemes of Church work which he so much fostered was unabated. On his death she left Rochdale.

The feud between Dr. Molesworth and his diocesan became more marked when the Bishop became the patron of Rochdale, by the surrender of the Archbishop of Canterbury. This brought them more immediately into contact whenever the temporalities of the church had to be dealt with, and led to a series of difficulties which ought rather to be described as scandals, from which the church in Rochdale was a very serious sufferer. Before the transfer the vicar had offered to endow districts with 50*l.* a year out of his vicarial income if laymen would build churches and meet the endowment with an adequate sum, on condition that the patronage should rest in the vicar of Rochdale for the time being, or the incumbents of parishes or districts from which the new districts were taken.

The Archbishop, so long as he was patron, did not object to this scheme. Churches were built and endowed, and the Bishop of Manchester, as ordinary, signed his approval of the scheme. Besides those so built, the vicar had accepted offers for similar churches at Castleton Moor and Norden. The Bishop, as ordinary, signed his consent. These churches were already begun to be built when the patronage was transferred, whereupon the Bishop refused his approval to the vicar's endowment, unless the patronage was vested in the Bishop for the time being. The vicar proposed a compromise that Norden should be in the Bishop's patronage, and Castleton Moor in the vicar's. The Bishop, on Norden church being built, called upon the vicar to bind himself and his successors to concede the patronage to the Bishop of Manchester for the time being. The vicar wished to insist that the Bishop should enter into a similar undertaking as to Castleton Moor, but he would not entertain the proposal. Eventually Dr. Molesworth signed the document, as his continued refusal would have involved the building committee in great pecuniary difficulties. But he did it most unwillingly — his own

words were, "I sign it as plainly under compulsion of *moral* torture as any victim of the Inquisition ever signed a declaration under the thumb-screw or the rack."

At the consecration of St. Alban's Church the Bishop claimed, and the vicar denied, his right to introduce a strange preacher into the pulpit. The Bishop ordered that the formal legal documents of consecration should be read at St. Alban's, but that divine service and the sermon should be transferred to the church of a curate named Morton, whose incumbent was non-resident.

At the consecration of Wardle church the vicar had been asked by Mr. Cook, the vicar of Smallbridge (the district out of which the new parish had been carved), to take part in the service. The Bishop, as a condition of consenting to consecrate it, insisted that the vicar, who had subscribed 50*l.* a year, should have no part in it.

On the proposal to build a church at Buersil, it was suggested by the chief benefactor that the first two presentations should be in his hands, and the reversion in the patronage be afterwards in the vicar of Rochdale for the time being. On these terms Dr. Molesworth consented to endow the new parish with 50*l.* a year. The Bishop rejected the scheme, and decided that the patronage should be vested entirely in lay hands, minus 50*l.* a year, which the incumbent would have enjoyed if it were vested in the vicar's. The feud extended beyond the question of the patronage of the local churches. While the patronage was in the Archbishop's hands, the granting and renewal of leases of the Rochdale glebe was practically left to the discretion of the vicar and a surveyor whom he nominated. On the transfer this was at once stopped by the Bishop refusing his concurrence, without previous notice. Nor would he consent to apply for a public act to enable buildings to be erected on a space of 30 or 40 acres not comprised in the Vicarage Act, and which, therefore, the vicar could not lease. The Bishop based his refusal on his dislike of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The ground here referred to, sometimes known as "the excepted

lands," from their having been excluded, for some reason or other, from the original act authorizing the vicar to make leases, included the Broadfield and the slopes known as Sparrow Hill and Cant Hill. In 1864 the vicar made an offer of this land to the corporation at a price of about 400*l.* an acre, which was deemed fair and reasonable, under the circumstances. The Bishop, however, intervened, and denounced the arrangement as a profligate sale of church lands, declaring they were worth four times the amount, and he threatened to file a bill in Chancery if the negotiations, which were almost concluded, were not abandoned. The Town Council, not wishing to be encumbered with a law suit, thereupon withdrew from them. Eventually, when the Vicarage Act was passed, these lands were secured by the town from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners at a price not much higher than the vicar had offered it for. The whole circumstances of the case were, as usual, published by the vicar, in 1864, in the form of a pamphlet.

In 1866 an act was passed for dealing with the glebe attached to the living of Rochdale, which is so important in the ecclesiastical history of the town that it will be interesting to give an abstract of it. This act involved considerable sacrifices on the part of the vicar. The income from the glebe then exceeded 4,000*l.* a year, and there was considerable prospect of its increasing, and it had long been deemed prudent that a portion of this large income should be devoted to increasing the endowments of the churches then built or to be afterwards built in the parish of Rochdale, and otherwise promoting the efficiency of the Established Church in the same parish and the diocese of Manchester. In order to effect this purpose an act of parliament was needed, and this act, the 29 and 30 Vict., ch. 86, was obtained with the concurrence of the vicar and the bishop. By this act all the glebe lands and other endowments of the vicarage were, on the next avoidance, to be vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The vicar was empowered, before such avoidance, if he pleased, to enter into an agreement with the commissioners to accept

4,000*l.* a year during the remainder of his vicariate, and in consideration of this sum to at once vest the estate before-mentioned in the commissioners. This clause was taken advantage of by Dr. Molesworth, and he no doubt sacrificed a considerable prospective addition to his income, but also freed himself from all charges for dilapidations, repairs, &c., which he had previously had to bear.

The act provided that after the next avoidance the endowment of the vicarage should be 1,500*l.* a year, together with the annual sum of 14*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* payable out of the produce of the rectorial tithes. The vicar was to remain liable for the payment of first-fruits and tenths.

The commissioners were with the funds that thus became available to augment the endowments of the various churches and chapels of St. Chad, Saddleworth; Christ Church, Todmorden; the Holy Trinity, Littleborough; St. James, Milnrow; Christ Church, Healey; St. Peter, Walsden; St. James, Wardleworth; St. John, Smallbridge; St. Thomas, Friarmere; the Holy Trinity, Dobcross; St. Anne, Lydgate; St. Alban, Rochdale; St. James, Wardle; St. Paul, Norden; St. Martin, Castleton Moor; St. Mary, Rochdale; and St. Clement, Spotland; so that, exclusive of surplice fees and pew rents, the minister of any of these districts or parishes which by the census of 1861 had a population of less than 4,000 was to have an income of 200*l.* a year, and the incumbents of similar districts with a population exceeding that number 300*l.* a year, with the proviso that the incumbent of Spotland should, under any circumstances, have his income raised to 500*l.* a year, the incumbent of Castleton Moor to 300*l.* a year, and the incumubent of St. Chad, Saddleworth, to the same sum, exclusive of the stipend payable out of the rectorial tithes.

Provision was made that in lieu of the arrangements previously in vogue in regard to funerals at the cemetery, the incumbent of the parish in which the cemetery is situated should in future receive a sum of 100*l.* a year in addition to the fees payable in

respect of such interments, for which he was to perform the funeral service when required, or provide a curate for the purpose, and it was especially provided that it was obligatory upon him to employ a curate at a salary of 100*l.* a year. This provision was not to affect the right of any existing incumbent to perform the service, or to cause the same to be performed, and to receive the fees in respect of it, if he should not think fit to relinquish such right. The commissioners were further to endow a curate at Littleborough with 100*l.* a year, to perform the service at Calderbrook, when the church there should be consecrated, and to pay 150*l.* a year to the incumbent of Christ Church, Todmorden, so long as he should have occasion to provide for the performance of divine service in the old church or chapel of St. Mary, Todmorden.

After the conveyance of the glebe the commissioners were further to proceed to endow five new districts, to be taken out of the original limits of the parish of Rochdale, with 200*l.* a year each. These new districts were Hamer, Facit, Falinge, Newbold, and Roughtown. The surplus which should accrue to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners after discharging these claims was to be applied to (1) raising to 300*l.* a year, exclusive of surplice fees and pew rents, each of the seventeen livings previously mentioned whose income did not then amount to that sum; (2) to raising to 300*l.* a year the endowments of the five new districts already named, so soon as the church or chapel in each of those districts should be consecrated; (3) to raising to 500*l.* a year the income of one of the livings in the parish, other than Spotland, with a population of over 4,000, and to raising to 400*l.* a year two additional livings with a similar population; (4) to providing the maintenance of one or more chaplains to the workhouse or workhouses in the union of Rochdale, and such workhouse or workhouses in the union of Saddleworth as might be used exclusively for the inhabitants of any part or parts of the ancient parish of Rochdale; (5) to endowing, as the commissioners might think fit, any districts or parishes to be in future cut out of

the parish of Rochdale; (6) to endowing or augmenting such benefices in the diocese of Manchester as should be selected by the bishop for the time being, and be approved by the commissioners. In all cases where the benefices are increased to 300*l.* a year under these provisions, one half of the sittings are to be declared free.

The 19th clause of the act provided that certain lands forming part of the glebe, which had been excepted from the Rochdale Vicarage Act, 4 Geo. III., c. 28, consisting of the Cant Hill and Broad Field, and containing about fourteen acres, should be let to the Rochdale Corporation for a recreation ground, at a perpetual annual rent of 380*l.*, free from all rates, taxes, or deductions. The minerals were reserved, and it was further provided that no buildings or erections should be placed on these excepted lands without the consent of the commissioners, except such as might be needed for the purposes mentioned. The corporation were also to make three new roads, namely, St. Alban Street, extending from Manchester New Road to the Vicar's Drive; (2) the Vicar's Drive, and (3) a road to connect Manchester New Road with Church Lane, where it meets Church Stile. The commissioners were empowered to apply the funds in their hands for making various improvements on the estate, and for providing parsonages or sites for parsonages for any churches augmented or endowed under the act.

All the various ecclesiastical divisions then or thereafter to be created out of the old parish of Rochdale, having exclusive cure of souls, and including the new parish of Friezland, were to be deemed vicarages, and the incumbents thereof vicars.

The patronage of the churches of St. James, Wardleworth; St. Mary, Rochdale; the Holy Trinity, Littleborough; St. James, Milnrow, and St. Alban, Rochdale, were, after the next avoidance, to remain vested in the vicar of Rochdale. The patronage of all other churches in the parish was to be transferred to the bishop of the diocese. To set at rest certain doubts which had arisen, it was specially enacted that the new church of Christ

Church, Todmorden, should be deemed to be substituted for the old parochial church or chapel of St. Mary, in the same place, and that all the emoluments and rights of and belonging to the latter should be transferred to the former. The freehold of the said church of St. Mary should be deemed to be vested in the incumbent of Christ Church, and the former church should be deemed a chapel of ease to the latter, and be served by its incumbent; and the commissioners were empowered to set aside an annual sum of 150*l.* in respect of the services at this chapel of ease. Hitherto there had been ten churchwardens and ten sidesmen for the parish of Rochdale. This number was no longer needed since the parish was cut down to such narrow limits, and in future there were to be only two churchwardens, and two sidesmen, one churchwarden and one sidesman to be elected by the vicar, and one by the persons entitled to take part in such election. The Act constituting a body of trustees, etc., etc., for the chapel of ease of St. James, Wardleworth, Rochdale, was repealed, and that parish was put on the same footing as the others. It was specially provided, however, that one half of the sittings in this church should thenceforth be free.

The following is a list of the parishes formed out of the original parish of Rochdale, with the date of the consecration of these churches :—

Saddleworth, St. Chad, *circ.* 1200.
Milnrow, St. James, before June 1, 1400.
Littleborough, Holy Trinity, *circ.* 1471.
Todmorden, St. Mary, *circ.* 1476 (?).
Whitworth, St. Bartholomew, 1532.
Rochdale, St. Mary, 1744.
Friarmere, St. Thomas, 1768.
Dob Cross, Holy Trinity, 1787.
Lydgate, St. Ann, 1788.
Bacup, St. John, 1788.
Rochdale, St. James, 1821.
Smallbridge, St. John, 1834.
Spotland, St. Clements, 1835.
Walsden, St. Peter, 1848.
Healey, Christ Church, 1850.
Friezeland, Christ Church, 1850.
Rochdale, St. Alban, 1856.
Wardle, St. James, 1858.
Norden, St. Paul, 1861.
Castleton Moor, St. Martin, 1862.
Denshaw, Christ Church, 1863.
Bacup, St. Saviour, 1865.
Waterfoot, St. James, 1865.
Hamer, All Saints, 1866.
Newbold, St. Peter, 1871.
Facit, St. John, 1871.
Balderstone, St. Mary, 1872.
Falinge, St. Edmund, 1873.
Greenfield, St. Mary, 1875.
Roughtown, St. John the Baptist, 1876.

Let us once more revert to Dr. Molesworth. Shortly after the passing of the Vicarage Act a strong and not very good-humoured struggle, which had been smouldering for a long time, broke out in the congregation of the parish church in regard to the burning subject of ritual. Dr. Molesworth was a High Churchman of the old school, and his influence was exerted to secure for his church a revised ritual of a moderate kind, such as now prevails very extensively, but which was the subject of much heart-burning at the time, and of not a little ill blood. The questions in dispute were, mainly, whether the offertory should be presented to the vicar at the communion table or taken by the churchwardens into the vestry; whether there should be a weekly offertory, and whether the choir should wear surplices, or the congregation stand up while the clergy and choristers walked to their seats. On these questions two parties were strongly opposed, and in 1868 Dr. Molesworth published a pastoral address, in which he commented on a correspondence which he had had with one of the churchwardens, Mr. James Hartley. One incident that arose out of the struggle was a painful proof of the persistence of party animosities on a wider scale. Mr. H. Nicholson, who was a determined opponent of the innovations, was in the habit of leaving his seat as the procession of the vicar and choristers walked past, and of thus breaking its continuity and interfering with it. On one of these occasions he jostled against the vicar, who pushed him aside. This was interpreted as an assault, and Dr. Molesworth was summoned before the magistrates, when a majority, consisting entirely of those not in communion with the church, put an old man, who, whatever his polemics, had been a courageous, sincere, frank, and open opponent for many years, and who was, in addition, a minister of religion, against whose moral rectitude and honesty not a word was ever breathed, to the indignity of a fine. The decision was viewed at the time as, and must remain, a lasting reflection on the bigotry which seems inseparable from religious rancour.

Dr. Lee, the first Bishop of Manchester, died Dec. 24, 1869, and with his death came to a close the more militant side of Dr. Molesworth's career. The latter years of his life were passed by him in attending to the ever-growing needs of his well-worked parish, and it has been truly said that he looked upon his curates as sons and his choir-boys as grandsons. The fabric of the church in which he had ministered so long was the constant object of his solicitude, and during his vicariate it was very considerably altered and rearranged. These alterations began about 1850, when the old vestry at the north-eastern corner of the church, which was an attached building with a lean-to roof, was pulled down, and the organ chamber was built, and a new organ added. A few years later the galleries and old-fashioned pews in the nave were taken out, and a new roof built. This was done by subscription. Meanwhile, the vicar himself undertook the restoration of the chancel, which was repewed, and a new roof added. He also replaced the old carved wood pulpit, to which reference has been already made in these pages, by the one which still remains in the church. A few years later, again, the north aisle was rebuilt, while in 1872 and 1873 the tower was considerably raised, the bells rehung, and the south aisle, as far as Trinity Chapel, and the vestry were rebuilt. Dr. Molesworth subscribed one-third of the cost of making these last changes.

In addition to these alterations, the rebuilding of the Grammar School, and the building of the church schools on Sparrow Hill, Dr. Molesworth also had another fine set of church schools built in Ann Street, to accommodate those of his parishioners who lived near Milkstone, while at another, and less savoury, corner of the parish, namely, in the Gank, another school was provided, the cost being defrayed out of the sale of the old hearse-house and its site.

Nothing seemed to affect the iron constitution and perennial vigour of the vicar. He might be seen tramping with short hurried steps, with his good wife, in the worst weather, to Littleborough, Milnrow, &c. He took an active interest in all public

matters to the very last, nor did the old warhorse mind a good hard blow in reply, when fairly struck. One of his sayings suggested by this fact, has a sharp ring about it which ought to make it claim a place among the best epigrams. Someone having sympathized with him on the occasion of a bitter attack to which he was subjected, he replied, "I am delighted; when I throw a stone at a dog and it yelps, I know that I have hit it."

We must, however, draw our scanty notice to a close. Dr. Molesworth's life was important enough to entitle him to a special biography on a larger scale than we can afford space for, nor would the details that are permissible in relating the lives of the earlier vicars be allowable in the case of one who has only lately left us. Dr. Molesworth died on the 21st April, 1877.

At the previous Easter Vestry it had been noticed that he was very visibly failing, and for a week before his death he was in the dreamy state which is the most certain premonitory symptom of early dissolution. On Saturday, April 21st, his condition became alarming, and his family were summoned, all his children being present except one son, who was in India. As evening approached he was very restless, and apparently in pain, which ceased about six o'clock, and he became calm, peaceful, and perfectly sensible, addressing each one present by name, and saying, "God bless you." He then resumed his dreamy state, and died about eleven o'clock.

Several years before his death the vicar had remarked to Mr. Bates, the vicar of Castleton—"When I go I think my old bones must be laid here; keep a corner for me," referring to the south-west angle of the churchyard, near the vicarage, "and," says the account I am using, "a more picturesque and retired spot could not be found anywhere in the parish of Rochdale." His relatives would have liked his remains to have rested in the old parish church itself, where so many of his predecessors are buried, and where he had officiated so long, and where he would have lain beside his first wife and his mother. When a com-

munication was made to the Home Secretary, however, the necessary permission was refused on the ground that the right to bury in the church had ceased and could not be revived. It was decided that he should be buried at Castleton, where he had assisted so materially to build the church, and to which he was closely attached. He had enjoined that at his funeral there should be no pomp or unnecessary display, but he had too many friends in Rochdale, and had been too important a personage in its history, for this injunction to be literally followed. The churchwardens issued a circular, stating the day and hour of the funeral. "Between nine and ten o'clock a large crowd of persons assembled round the churchyard gates and the entrance to the vicarage grounds. . . . . At ten o'clock the body was borne into the church from the vicarage, through the private entrance from the vicarage grounds to the churchyard. The coffin was borne shoulder high, and deposited in the chancel. Many of the congregation manifested great emotion as the coffin and its contents were borne along the church, where the late vicar, in the prime of manhood, had often walked with firm and steady step, and in later years with bowed head and faltering step, to take his accustomed place." On the coffin was the inscription—"Rev. J. E. Molesworth, D.D., died 21st April, 1877, aged 87 years." The Bishop of Manchester was prevented from attending to perform the funeral service, but wrote the following letter to Mr. H. Brierley, the vicar's warden, in answer to his invitation to be present: —

Dear Sir,—I thank you for your letter. It is pleasant to find that the evening of Dr. Molesworth's day closed round him so calmly and happily. It is like those beautiful verses in the Psalms—"He maketh the storm to cease, so that the waves thereof are still. Then are they glad because they are at rest, and so He bringeth them to the haven where they would be." Rochdale has had for the last 38 years a man of no ordinary mark as its vicar, and I have no doubt that it will be shown at his funeral in what regard his people held him. I wish I could have been present myself to pay the last mark of respect to one with whom my relations have always been most pleasant and friendly, but I am sorry to say the confirmation arrangements, which I cannot alter, will prevent this. My thoughts, however, will be with you as you are laying him in his grave on Friday.

The funeral service was, therefore, performed by the Reverend Canon Hornby, of Bury. Nearly all the influential churchmen in the parish were either present or represented, and a vast crowd of people lined the roadside and filled the graveyard, as the choir sang the well-known hymn beginning —

Jesus lives, no longer, now,
Death, thy terrors can appal us.

In summing up the result of Dr. Molesworth's work, we feel that it is necessary to plant ourselves on a wider platform than the mere polemical one which has occupied us so greatly. The church in Rochdale when he came there was in a state of great collapse and stagnation. The previous vicar had been absent for the greater part of the year, and church work, except that of the most perfunctory kind, was dead. Under such circumstances it needed a strong arm and a vigorous will to stir the depths of the community. It was necessary to arouse attention, to create enthusiasm, and to inspire others with zeal, and this is only done by those who strike hard and show indomitable courage and vigour, who are never dispirited, and who fight their best because they believe firmly in the righteousness of their views. The enthusiasm created among his followers by Mr. Bright's career is a signal proof of this; a better proof is the contrast between the state of the church when Dr. Molesworth came to Rochdale and when he left it. Twenty years before his death one of the old inhabitants of the parish remarked that what surprised him the most of anything that had happened during his lifetime was the resurrection of the church in Rochdale. When Dr. Molesworth came it seemed to have no life in it — to be quite dead. When he came to Rochdale there were fourteen churches in the old parish; when he died there were 29, besides schoolrooms in which services were held. When he came the local church was pervaded with Erastianism, and had lost a great deal of its spirituality, while the actual parochial work of visiting the sick, superintending the education of the young, and ministering to the spiritual needs of all was at a very low ebb. When he died

few parishes in England could show more active life; few could present a more devoted body of church workers than that which was attached to St. Chad's, while the renovation of the building, and the improvement of the singing and the ritual, virtually amounted to a resurrection.

In regard to Dr. Molesworth's personal qualities, a judicious notice of him in the *Rochdale Pilot* of April 28, says:—

As a parish priest no one has ever heard a word of disparagement, for up to the latest moment he was always prompt to the call of duty, and the care of the sick and poor, especially, was a thing to which both Dr. Molesworth and Mrs. Molesworth gave incessant care and attention. His sermons were always marked by thorough fulness; though not remarkable as a reader, yet the matter of his discourses seemed always to fix the attention of his hearers. His sermons were never carelessly prepared or disfigured by illustrations and metaphor, feeble and inappropriate, or spoilt by logic that did not carry forward the entire argument to its conclusions. Dr. Molesworth was a capital platform speaker, and even in his 86th year he seemed little inferior to what he was thirty years before, having a copious vocabulary, and being seldom at a loss for a word when addressing an audience; yet he generally preached from a manuscript, preferring to give only to his hearers that which he had carefully studied and prepared. As a man he possessed many very great qualities, perfect command over himself, both morally and intellectually, hence the force and vigour which marked the part he took in any controversy of the period. . . . Dr. Molesworth's style as a writer was distinguished by force and perspicacity, and though deficient in imaginative power, this defect was amply compensated by other good points of perhaps more importance. His statement of a case, especially, was always noted for distinctness and simplicity, and he was particularly fond of dividing it into its proper heads, and enlarging on each in a strictly logical style. He never seemed to strive to be ornate, but on the other hand to be clear and convincing; for, writing always with a purpose, that purpose was never sacrificed to the more rhetorical embellishments of style. The strength and purity of some of his best writings are worthy of being made models; few, hardly Cobbett in his best days, could deliver harder blows at an antagonist, or expose a fallacy more expertly or cleverly.

Another notice of him, in the same paper, says:—

Early in life he acquired methodical habits, and being a man of steady purpose the amount of intellectual labour he went through was almost Herculean. No indulgence in rest did he allow himself, for even on winter's mornings up to within a very short period of his death, he rose and lighted his fire with his own hands, and was engaged in writing sermons, or other work, until eight o'clock, which was observed as the breakfast hour. His extraordinary bodily strength enabled him to get through what would have killed most men. Indeed, had he carried to the Bar the same ability there can be no doubt that he would have risen to the highest honours of his profession. His great temperance and fine temper no doubt contributed to the length of

his life. For a long time a jug of cold water was his only drink and breakfast. But he had, moreover, the happy faculty of disposing of one matter at a time, and whatever attacks he might have from without, they rarely provoked more than a smile, and with his happy and united family they were forgotten before night. Brave as a lion in the fight, he bore no malice against an adversary, and was most ready to conciliate and shake hands. When a recent great attack on the Church took place, the Doctor took a leading part in the organization of the Church Defence Society, and such was the interest he took in its formation that, contrary to his usual habit of confining himself entirely to work within his own parish, he attended meetings in many of the towns in the neighbourhood, and ably advocated its claims to support.

Judged in every way, either intellectually, by the immense amount of mental work he performed, by the considerable figure he occupied, not merely in local affairs, but on a more general platform, and by the handiwork he left behind him, it must be acknowledged that Dr. Molesworth was the most remarkable among the remarkable men who compose the roll of Rochdale vicars.

By his first wife Dr. Molesworth had nine children, six sons—(1) William Nassau, vicar of St. Clement's, Spotland, who was born on the 8th of November, 1816, and married, in 1844, Margaret, daughter of George Murray, Esq., of Ancoats Hall, Manchester; (2) John, a solicitor, and coroner for the district of Rochdale, born 22nd April, 1818, married, October 5th, 1847, Mary, daughter and co-heiress of the late Lawrence Newall, Esq., of Town House; (3) Daniel, born June 3rd, 1821, died July 21, 1872, at Bideford, Devon; (4) George Mill Frederick, a retired commander in the Royal Navy, born September 14th, 1825, married, August 19th, 1851, Sarah, daughter of Lawrence Newall, Esq., of Town House, already mentioned; (5) Rennell Wynn Francis, rector of Washington, in the county of Durham, born January 17, 1827, married (1st), in 1851, Eleanor Jane, only daughter of the Rev. John Hilton, (2nd), 27th July, 1864, Frances Elizabeth, second and only surviving daughter of Admiral George Henderson; (6) Guilford Lindsey, born May 3rd, 1828, married, 22nd August, 1854, Maria Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late F. T. Bridges, Esq., of Walmer; and three daughters—(1) Harriet, born September 11th, 1819, married, January 1st, 1856, to Samuel

Crompton, Esq., M.D.; (2) Emma Frances, born September 3rd, 1822, married, in 1850, to George Poulden, Esq., barrister-at-law; and (3) Louisa, born March 16th, 1824, married, in 1846, the Rev. J. Edwards.

Works, &c., by the Rev. Dr. Molesworth:—

Sermons, on various subjects: with an appendix, containing an Examination of certain supposed points of Analogy between Baptism and Circumcision. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, A.M., Curate of Millbrook, Hants. London, 1825. 450 pp. 8vo.

An Answer to the Rev. John Davidson's "Inquiry into the Origin and Intent of Primitive Sacrifice," &c. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, M.A., Curate of Millbrook. London, 1826. 132 pp. 8vo.

The Church's "Hope" of a Late Repentance considered, in a Sermon occasioned by the funeral of Francis Proudley, who was Executed at Winchester for Horse Stealing. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, Curate of Millbrook. London, 1827. 12 pp. 12mo.

A Farewell Sermon, preached at Millbrook Church, Hants, on Sunday, 7th of December, 1828. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, A.M. London, 1829. 16 pp. 8vo.

An Appeal on behalf of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, Rector of St. Martin's, Canterbury. London, 1830. 26 pp. 8vo.

A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, at his Grace's Primary Visitation. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, A.M. London, 1832. 55 pp. 8vo.

The Penny Sunday Reader. Edited by the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, Rector of St. Martin's, Canterbury. London, 1835-41. 12mo. 14 vols.

Christian Loyalty and Christian Unity. Two Sermons. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. Rochdale, 1840. 36 pp. 12mo.

Tales from the Scrap Book of a Country Clergyman. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth. London, 1831. 116 pp. 12mo. Contents—Tale I. Alice Green. II. The Drunkard. III. The Politicians. IV. The Publican.

Remarks on Church Rates and the Rochdale Contest. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. Rochdale, 1841. 52 pp. 12mo.

Letter to the Rev. Caleb Whitefoord on the Fallacies and Unworthy Arts used by him and others in Defence of the Pastoral Aid Society. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. London, 1841. 40 pp. 12mo.

Letter to the Lord Bishop of Chester, upon certain symptoms of Sectarian Designs in the Pastoral Aid Society. By J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. London, 1841. 47 pp. 12mo.

Sermon on the Death of James Royds, Esq., of Mount Falinge. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. Rochdale, 1842. 20 pp. 8vo.

Sermon on the Baptism of G. W. Philip, late Minister of the Unitarian Chapel, Rochdale. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. Rochdale, 1843. 21 pp. 8vo.

Letter to Clement Royds, Esq., with the Documents and Correspondence respecting the Causes of Litigating Whitworth's Charity. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. Manchester, 1845. 23 pp. 12mo.

The Rule of Conscience with Respect to Church Rate. A Sermon. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. London, 1847. 30 pp. 8vo.

The Nature and Development of Government in the Early Christian Church. A Lecture. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. Wakefield, 1848. 27 pp. 12mo.

Remarks upon the Cases of Dr. Hampden and the Rev. J. P. Lee, in reference to a proposed Modification of the Law of Electing Bishops; also a Statement of Dr. Molesworth's Proceedings, together with the Correspondence with respect to the Rev. J. P. Lee's Case. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. London, 1848. 42 pp. 8vo.

The Entire Correspondence between the Vicar of Rochdale and John Bright, Esq., M.P., with introductory remarks by the Vicar. Rochdale, 1849. 26 pp. 12mo.

Education: its Nature, and the Comparative Value of its Constituent Parts, considered in a Sermon, preached in the Cathedral of Manchester. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. London, 1849. 24 pp. 12mo.

Sermon on the Real Causes and Right Preventatives of the Danger Indicated by the Papal Aggression. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. Rochdale, 1851. 16 pp. 8vo.

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Rochdale Politics: The Vicar of Rochdale and his Slanderers in the matter of the Rochdale Cemetery. Rochdale, 1854. 7 pp. 12mo.

Resistance to Church Rates. A Letter to the People of England. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. (Second edition.) Printed at the Kentish *Observer* Office. 16 pp. 12mo.

Ditto ditto. (Fifth edition.) Gravesend, 1854. 28 pp. 12mo.

The Bishop of Manchester and the Vicar of Rochdale: Consecration of St. Alban's Church. Manchester, 1856. 16 pp. 12mo.

The Parish Church. (A Tract published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.) By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. London, 1857. 11 pp. 12mo.

The Rev. Dr. Molesworth to the Lord Bishop of Manchester; together with a full Report of the Proceedings of St. James's Church, Wardle. Rochdale, 1858. 22 pp. 12mo.

The Rev. Dr. Molesworth on the Rev. Hugh Stowell's Defence of the Exclusiveness of the (so called) Church Pastoral Aid Society. London, 1859. 28 pp. 12mo.

Christian Consulting his Faithful Friends — Bible and Prayer Book. Consultation No. I. The Lord's Supper. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. London, 1860. 12 pp. 12mo.

Overbury; or, Some Advantages of an Established and Endowed Church; and Some Evils of the "Voluntary System." A Tale. By J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. London, 1860. 72 pp. 12mo.

Re-publication by the Rev. Dr. Molesworth — John Wesley's Protest Against Wesleyans and other Denominations Assisting to Exact Secular, and to Degrade Religious Education. Rochdale, 1860. 8 pp. 12mo.

The Necessity and Design of Church Defence Associations. A Lecture. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. Manchester, 1860. 12 pp. 8vo.

Liberation and Revolution Stereotypes, and Family Likenesses. Two Letters. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. Rochdale, 1862. 16 pp. 8vo.

The Liberation Society Adverse to Civil and Religious Liberty. A Letter to Sir Samuel Morton Peto, Bart., M.P., from the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. London. 16 pp. 8vo.

Pastoral Address Respecting some Objections to the Order of Divine Service in St. Chad's Church, Rochdale. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. Rochdale, 1868. 16 pp. 12mo.

On the History of Music in its Relation to Religion, and on the Choral Service and the Choir of the Rochdale Parish Church. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. Rochdale, 1869. 4 pp. 8vo.

Reply to a Reported Magisterial Misrepresentation. Reprinted from the *Rochdale Pilot*. Rochdale, 1869. Fly sheet.

On the Danger of Weakening Public Confidence in Magisterial Administration of Law. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. Reprinted from the *Manchester Courier*. Rochdale, 1870. Fly sheet.

Elementary Education, without the Religious Element: A Case of Conscience for a Christian People. By the Rev. J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. Rochdale, 1873. 16 pp. 12mo.

Works, &c., by the Rev. Dr. Molesworth, on fly sheets:—

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The Bishop of Manchester and the Vicar of Rochdale. Two Letters addressed to the Editor of the *John Bull*.
The Bishop of Manchester and the Vicar of Rochdale. October 19, 1861.
Ditto ditto. November 16, 1861.
Ditto ditto. November 23, 1861.
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* This list of Dr. Molesworth's works comprises those only which are preserved in the Rochdale Library. It might, no doubt, be greatly enlarged.

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